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RUINS OF A BRIDGE OVER THE TÁB NEAR ARREJÁN

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

TRAVELS

IN

LURISTAN AND ARABISTAN.

BY

THE BARON C. A. DE BODE.

Bode C. A. de —

VOL. I.

83449

"Il n'y a point de description de voyage sans défaut, ni aucun voyageur exempt de tout préjugé, ainsi le parti le plus sage c'est de ne pas défendre ses opinions avec opiniâtreté."—NIEBUHR.

INTERIOR OF AN ARAB TENT NEAR THE TOMB OF CYRUS (SOUTHERN PERSIA).

LONDON:
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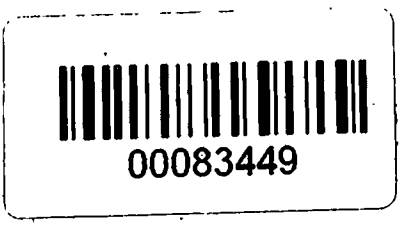

PREFACE.

If a traveller who had visited Switzerland, or the banks of the Rhine, or any other part of Europe, were to think it necessary first to acquaint the reader where those countries lie, before he entered on the description of his travels, he would be considered impertinent, and would, indeed, deserve censure. But a similar condemnation would by no means rest on him who, having penetrated into some obscure regions of the East, should conceive it necessary to indicate their position on the map to his countrymen of the West, before he could expect them to follow him patiently through the details of his journey.

Such is the case with the author of the present volumes, which he has entitled "*Travels in Lúristán and Arabistán.*"

With the exception of those who have travelled in the East, or who have made geography their particular study, are there many who know where *Lúristán* is situated? or who will not confound *Arabistán* with *Arabia?* Nor is it matter of wonder that this should be the case, considering the scanty sources of information which we possess concerning those countries, and the comparative if not total neglect to which they have been doomed. The author will, therefore, not be supposed to underrate the accomplishments of his readers, if he presumes them to be ignorant of the geographical position of Luristán and Arabistán, and hopes that he shall not be taxed with presumption, if he takes the liberty of giving them a preliminary insight into those countries.

Luristán, then, or the land of the *Lurs*, embraces the greater portion of the mountainous country of Persia, extending from the

Turkish boundary on the west, to the limits of Isfahán and Fars on the east and south-east. These mountains are occupied by an uncouth and wild race of men, bearing different appellations, but apparently springing from one original stock,—the old Zend.

The low country, lying to the south of this chain of mountains, with the towns of Shúshter, Dizfúl, and others, together with the land of the Chá'b-Arabs, is denominated *Khúzistán* or *Arabistán*.

These regions, which in general now offer to the eye the melancholy spectacle of decay, of devastation, and even spread out at intervals into utter wildernesses, were not so in former ages. There was a time when they must have teemed with an industrious population, as the vestiges of ruined towns plainly denote.

The names of some of these have survived, and live in the traditions of the natives; others can be recognised in history, but a greater number lie scattered over the waste, without leaving any records behind, or bequeathing

to posterity their names, the nations to which they belonged, or the time at which they flourished. There they crumble into dust, like bones bleaching on a forgotten field of battle, or like a solitary plank on the heaving wave, a sad wreck of some noble vessel sunk in the unfathomable depths of ocean.

Shúshter is greatly fallen from its former importance. *Ahváz*, the winter capital of the Arsacidæ or Parthian kings, is a heap of ruins. The plough is levelling with the soil the only remaining mounds which point to Jondi-Shapúr; while Súsa, the rival of Babylon and Ecbatana, the vernal residence of the King of Kings, hides its ancient ruins under thick grass and waving reeds, as if ashamed that common mortals should see how low it has fallen from its pristine greatness.

But even prior to the dawn of profane history, before the sun of Nineveh and Babylon had risen in the east, *Elam*, as Scripture tells us, was already a nation; whilst in later days. the same country, under the name of

Elymaïs, attracted towards its rich temples the cupidity of the Greek and Parthian conquerors.

It is with the view of rescuing from a second oblivion this once classical ground, that the Author has endeavoured to draw aside a corner of the veil which still covers this mysterious region.

The general reader will perhaps blame him for dwelling on the topographical features of the country more minutely than the nature of a common narrative may seem to warrant.

The Author readily admits that he has laid himself open to this imputation, but believes it his duty to add, in self-justification, that as that tract of country has been seldom frequented, and may, perhaps, be now again closed to European travellers, he had rather in view to state facts than to fill the pages of his volumes with his own impressions.

Neither must he omit to state, that in his progress through the more western portion of the route, he has been often guided and mate-

rially aided by the valuable notes of Major Rawlinson on Khúzistán; and he hopes that distinguished scholar, with whom he has had the advantage of meeting more than once in the East, will pardon him for making frequent quotations from those notes in the course of the present narrative. It is owing to his conviction of their great accuracy that he always felt more confident whenever his own observations could have the benefit and the concurrent testimony of such an authority.

As the early part of the journey from Teherán to Isfahán, and from thence to Shiráz and Kazerún, has been frequently visited by Europeans, the Author has nothing particular to observe on that portion of his narrative.

But if the interest created by historical recollections will absolve the Author from introducing ancient Elymaïs, with its adjacent countries to the notice of the public, he fears he has not the same chance in presuming to address his readers in a language not his own. His short stay in this country has had the effect

of making him sensible of his deficiencies in this respect, without giving him time to supply them.

However, the indulgence with which some extracts from his notes on the East have been listened to at the Meetings of the Society of Antiquaries, the Ethnological, and the Royal Geographical Societies, added to the advice and encouragement of his friends in this country, have emboldened him to arrange his scattered notes in the form now offered to the public.

He owes great obligations to the learned Secretaries, Colonel Jackson and the Rev. Mr. Renouard, as well as to Mr. Shillinglaw, the Librarian, of the Royal Geographical Society of London, for the facilities they have afforded him in his researches, and the use of the Society's valuable library; but in particular to the Rev. Mr. Renouard for his kind assistance in comparing the narrative of Timúr's march with several manuscripts of the original work of Shérefú-d-din,

in the possession of the Honourable East India Company.

The Author feels a peculiar pleasure in being able thus publicly to express his hearty thanks to Mr. J. A. St. John, the eloquent author of "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Greeks," and of "Travels in the Valley of the Nile," and to his son, Mr. Bayle St. John, for the patient attention they have lent him during the perusal of his MS., and their judicious hints, of which he has frequently availed himself.

Neither ought he to allow this opportunity to pass, without recording his sense of obligation for the civilities and attentions he has invariably met with from the gentlemen of the British Museum, during his attendance at the Reading Rooms.

THE AUTHOR.

LONDON,
16*th November*, 1844.

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MAP
to illustrate
Baron C.A. de Bode's
route from
KÁZERÚN TO SHÚSHTER
through the Countries of the
Mamásení, Khógilú & Bakhtiyárí Tribes
in 1841.
(From an original drawing by the Author)
Scale of Persian Farsangs
The Author's route is coloured Red
Mr Ronald's Route is Blue
Ramberg's Route is Orange
MEDIA
snowy ridge of Mountains
ARABISTAN or KHUZISTAN
(Ancient SUSIANA)
Chaab (Kab) Arabs
PERSIAN GULF
Ardekan
(Paretacene)
Ridge of Mountains
TRIBES
Mahur
Ispahan
Kumishah
Dilmaut (Dilaut)
Kazerun
Shushter
Dizful
Behbehan
Ramhormuz
Mamasenni Tribe
Khogilu Tribe
Bakhtiyari Tribe
Kuh Dinarbenn
Kuh Dinar
Kuh Rang
Kuh Zerd
Kuh Sefid
Kuh Kerkan
Kuh Kebir
Kuh Kuhrud
Kuh Zerreh
Kuh Kuhrang
Kuh Kuhrang
Kuh Kuhrang

LÚRISTÁN AND ARABISTÁN.

CHAPTER I.

Preparations previous to undertaking the journey from Teheran to Persepolis.—Modes of travelling in the East contrasted with the conveniences a traveller meets in Europe.—Account of the disinterment of the victims who fell during the massacre of the Russian Mission at Teheran in 1829.—A thunderstorm in the month of December.—Inconveniences attending travelling by post at night.

During my stay in Persia it had been my constant and most ardent wish to visit the far-famed ruins of Persepolis; but circumstances, over which mortals seldom can exercise any control, prevented me for a long while from seeing that wish fulfilled. At length, towards

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DURING my stay in Persia it had been my constant and most ardent wish to visit the far-famed ruins of Persepolis; but circumstances, over which mortals seldom can exercise any control, prevented me for a long while from seeing that wish fulfilled. At length, towards

the close of the year 1840, all impediments being removed, I prepared myself for the journey. In order to lose as little time on the road as possible, I preferred going by post to the more convenient method of travelling with my own horses. To an European, who has been accustomed only to the comforts, and even luxuries, of locomotion in our civilized countries, it will hardly appear intelligible that nothing in the shape of coaches, trains, or steamers, is known in the East, at least as far as Persia is concerned. There, if you wish to travel in the least ostentatious manner, or even with the bare semblance of ease, you must have riding horses for yourself and servants, whatever length the journey may be; next you require other horses or cattle, such as mules, camels, &c., to carry your bedding and your servants', kitchen, and the bedding of your horses (not a trifling encumbrance), because you find on the road no hôtels-garnis, no inns, not even taverns. In tracts where no villages are seen on the high road, the usual

halting-places are karavanserais, stone buildings with one huge entry into a spacious yard, round which are small cells with doorways, but no doors; without windows, and with just sufficient room to pass a comfortless night in. Between the inner court and the outward walls of the karavanserai are the dark vaulted stables for cattle, by far the most comfortable part of the building. This is the sum total of all the accommodations you can expect in the best karavanserais; but the same advantages do not exist in all, and you may often reckon yourself very fortunate in meeting with a much less favoured abode after a fatiguing day's journey through a desert country. This is not a very favourable picture of Persian travelling; it is, nevertheless, a correct one. Again, when travelling with your own horses, very little progress is made in a day's march, and I certainly should not recommend it to any one pressed for time. This mode of advancing would not have suited me on the present occasion. The distance from Teheran to Persepolis, is, in round numbers,

one hundred and twenty farsangs, or four hundred and fifty English miles; and reckoning six farsangs per day, according to the usual mode of travelling, I could not have reached the latter place in less than twenty days. Being sufficiently inured to hard riding, I determined to travel post. My first step was to procure a written order to the Postmaster-General, to the effect that the necessary number of horses required at every station should be furnished me. This was soon accomplished, and Shefi Khan (the name of the Postmaster-General), who happened to be an acquaintance of mine, appointed one of his *chapars*, or postillions, to accompany me, and see that no delay took place in the relay of horses on the road. By his suggestion, likewise, I further applied to the Minister of State to have a clause introduced into the Royal firman (or usual passport), addressed to the chiefs of provinces, districts, towns, tribes, villages, &c., recommending the traveller to their protection, namely, that wherever post-horses could not be had, the

chief of the place should procure me the cattle necessary for pursuing my route. I afterwards found this precautionary measure of some service. My impatience to commence the journey was so great, that, regardless of the menacing aspect of the skies, which foreboded a storm, and the non-appearance of the post-horses, with the guide, till late in the evening, I still persisted in setting off, and issued from the gate of Teheran at sunset, on the 23d of December, 1840.

On turning the south-eastern angle of the walls, I came to a raised ground which forms the glacis beyond the contre-scarp of the city ditch. With this spot is associated the recollection of the melancholy catastrophe which befell the Imperial Russian Mission at Teheran, in 1829, when the Envoy, with his suite and attendants, were barbarously massacred by the savage rabble of the town.

It appears, that after the bloody deed was perpetrated, the palace of the Minister plundered, and the dead bodies stripped of their

clothes, certain Armenians who lived in the neighbourhood were compelled to carry away the corpses, and bury them out of the town. In consequence, a narrow trench was dug in the glacis, facing the south-eastern extremity of the city wall, in which the dead bodies were deposited, and then covered over with earth.

The transient stay the new Mission made at Teheran, in 1833, and subsequently the death of Abbas-Mirza, the Naib-Sultan or heir presumptive, and of the old Shah, as well as the succeeding events which took place on the accession of the reigning Sovereign to the throne, and the cholera, which raged at Teheran in 1835, prevented the Imperial Mission from rendering to their predecessors the last honours due to their memory.

It had even become a delicate question to determine whether it was desirable to revive disagreeable reminiscences which for years had been consigned to oblivion, especially as a gracious pardon had emanated from the Imperial Court. But, in the summer of 1836,

the Russian Mission, profiting by the temporary absence of the Shah, who was encamped in the mountains, thought the opportunity favourable to have the mortal remains of their deceased countrymen dug up, and removed to some consecrated Christian burial-ground.

As the Armenian cemetery was within the precincts of the town, it was necessary to apply to the Beglerbeg, or Governor of Teheran, for permission to introduce the corpses into the city, there existing in the East, as well as in many European States, a positive prohibition against dead bodies being conveyed within the city-gates. Several years previous the body of Mr. Rich, the late British Political Agent at Bagdad, who died near Shiraz, in southern Persia, was refused admission into the city under that very plea, and was in consequence interred outside, in the garden where the Persian poet Hafis lies buried.

In the present case the Beglerbeg acceded to the request of the Russian Minister, and I was intrusted with the sad yet consoling office of

fulfilling the last Christian duties to my departed countrymen.

The day had been sultry, and, as we were encamped at some distance, I could only reach the city wall about an hour and a-half before sunset. Grave-diggers were already in attendance, and on my arrival proceeded to re-open the trench. After the upper layer of earth had been removed, the trench became apparent;—it was just broad enough to contain two bodies abreast, but in length may probably have exceeded thirty or thirty-five feet. At this distance of time I can only speak from memory, but the horrible spectacle which presented itself to view had too great an effect on me, ever to be forgotten. The corpses had not been placed in coffins, but lay two by two in a row, the heads of the second pair close to the feet of the foremost. Some were wrapped up in shrouds, others stretched out naked. Time had, however, not been idle, and its ravenous tooth had already gnawed away the fleshy parts; the skin likewise was gone, and the bare ghastly

skeletons alone remained. Even these were not perfectly preserved; with some a leg, with others an arm or the skull were missing, showing, even when all traces of human features had been nearly effaced by time, how barbarously those bodies had been treated, when the soul still animated them, or just after death had closed their eyes for ever.

In the second row, below the first, the black earth was greasy and moist; the shrouds nearly black and spotted with mould, gave way at the touch of the spade and fell to pieces. Tufts of hair which had been clogged together by the coagulated blood, lay detached but close to the skulls. On examining more minutely, I found that some of the hair was of a red colour, a circumstance which made me suspect that I had before me the skeleton of the young physician of the Mission, who was red headed, and had fought, it is said, to the last with uncommon bravery. His skull was fractured in several places; nor was his the only one,

for I found others which had been deeply indented by sabre cuts.*

The three large boxes that were procured for carrying away the bodies were twice filled with the bones of the deceased, while the work was going on, and taken to the Armenian cemetery, to be there emptied into one common grave of capacious dimensions, which had been dug out and the walls worked in masonry for the purpose. They were preceded by the Armenian priest in his pontifical robes, bearing a cross in his hand, and accompanied by several *furashes* or servants, whom the Beglerbeg had sent to maintain order in case

* It is well known that the body of Mr. Griboëdoff, the Minister, was recognised from among the rest by his uniform, and after being dragged along the bazaars by the infuriated populace, was secured by the authorities when order was re-established, and at a later period reclaimed by the Imperial Government. He lies at present interred at Tiflis in Georgia, where a superb monument is erected to his memory at the top of a hill close to the convent of St. David, if my recollection serves me right.

of accident. The precaution, although a very prudent one, turned out to be superfluous, for the people of the town who met the procession, passed quietly on, without any hostile manifestation.

In the meanwhile the sun had set, and as in the East it is very soon followed by darkness, we were obliged to continue our work by the aid of lanterns and flambeaux dipped in naphtha. Having procured a fourth box, we contrived to place the remaining bones in it, after having likewise replenished the former three, thus making ten chests in all, and commenced the final procession towards the town by the light of torches. Being late, the gates had been closed, but they were soon re-opened, and the whole party entered. We moved on slowly along the street in solemn silence; the few persons whom we found in the dukans (shops), or met on the road, gazed at us as we advanced, and followed with their eyes the procession, but remained quiet.

I could not help contrasting this dead silence with the tumult which had raged in this very street seven years before. How different the scene was then!

When it had become apparent that Mr. Griboëdoff refused to deliver up the individuals who had sought an asylum at the hotel of the Mission, and whom it was his sacred duty to protect as Russian subjects, the mob were instigated by the clergy, and by those whose interest it was to have the fugitives given up, to assail the palace of the Minister, and by their clamour to intimidate him into a compliance with their demands. One of the Cossacks placed to guard the entrance, being hard pressed by the mob, fired and shot a man among the assembled crowd, who, it is said, dispersed for a short time, but only to increase their numbers. The corpse of the deceased Persian was placed on a bier in the court of the mosque, and a hue and cry being raised that the blood of a Mussulman had been spilt, nothing short of the blood of the Kafirs, or

Infidels, could quench their thirst for revenge. With feelings like these, so soon kindled in the fiery and revengeful breast of an Asiatic, worked up to the highest pitch, it is easy to conceive that it could not end otherwise than in a tragedy. To the sentiment of vengeance was added the prospect of plunder, in which, no doubt, the mob was effectually assisted by the lawless Bahtiyars, a great number of that wild tribe being domiciliated as hostages at Teheran, close behind the walls of the house which had been allotted for the reception and temporary residence of the Imperial Mission.

To proceed, however: when the contents of all the boxes had been emptied into the grave, which they nearly filled, all who were present approached the brink, while the priest read the funeral service. The silver moon illumined the solemn scene, and threw some faint gleams over the glossy skulls and bones that lay in a heap before us. I reckoned about twenty-six skulls, more or less mutilated; so that we were engaged in consigning to the earth, in one mutual grave,

the wrecks of as many bodies. At the close of the passage, "Dust ye are, and to dust shall ye return," we joined the priest in strewing earth into the grave, which was then closed with planks, and covered by a marble slab.

Although to the souls who have quitted their mortal tenement it must be, in all probability, a matter of little moment where their bones may rot, and in what way their ashes are dispersed, yet it is far from being so to those whom they leave behind; and respect to the dead seems to be a natural feeling among the living. But perhaps nowhere is this feeling so deeply rooted as among the inhabitants of the East. The custom which prevails among Mussulmans of carrying the dead to be buried in places reputed sacred, such as Mesched, Kum, Kerbelai, and Mecca, is partly founded on the feeling of reverence they bear to the deceased. The Persians, therefore, far from being astonished at our disinterring the mortal remains of our countrymen and removing them to a consecrated

Christian burying-ground, were only surprised it had not been done before.

A circumstance which occurred at the very time will give an idea how Mussulmans think on this subject. While we were engaged in digging up the bones, a caravan of *zuvars*, or pilgrims, came out of the Shah-Abdul-Azim gate, each leading a horse having two coffins swung across the packsaddle, with dead bodies in them, which they were transporting to Kum and to Kerbelai, there to be buried. As they passed near our party, they were curious to know what we were about, and, on learning that we were engaged in disinterring the dead, in order to replace them in holy ground, some observed that that was right, and that it seemed Christians knew likewise it was a duty to respect the dead. I subsequently heard the same opinion confirmed by others.

To return, however, to my journey. We had not advanced far, when the impending black clouds which had been thickening over our heads burst, and we were visited by a most

tremendous storm of hail, accompanied by thunder and lightning, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year. The rain poured in torrents, and we were soon beset by utter darkness. In this predicament we could not proceed long without losing our way, although our new guide persisted for some time that he was leading us by the right path. The vivid flashes of lightning showed at intervals but too plainly that we were in a desert plain, without traces of a road or any dwelling to protect us for the night. At last the barking of a dog revived our hopes, and following the direction from whence the welcome sounds proceeded, we arrived at a village, where after some difficulty, we got admittance into an old barn.

Next morning, the rain having ceased, we remounted our horses and came to *Kenaregird*, where they were to be changed; but as no fresh cattle were forthcoming, the place, moreover, being nearly deserted, we had to wait until our own beasts were refreshed, and then

proceeded with them. I could not complain of my steed, who was steady, and ambled along pleasantly. Next to the long quick pacer, the ambling horse in Persia is the most esteemed; and the animal, whether horse or mule, possessing that quality, (which is acquired,) fetches a higher price in the market. The Persians pay as much attention to the easy paces of their horses, as we do to the easy springs of our equipages.

Our next halting place was Hauz-Sultan, a karavanserai, on the skirts of the great Salt Desert, or *Kabir*, which separates Teheran from Kúm, and extends far to the east, between Khorasan and Yezd. There being no post-station at the karavanserai, we were compelled once more to allow our horses to fetch breath; and therefore could not reach the next karavanserai of Púli-Delauk before pitch dark, after having again lost our way in the wilderness.

I have often tried to break through the

Persian prejudice, as I used to call it, or lazy custom of halting at night-fall, although urged by pressing business; but I have invariably found by experience, that little or nothing is gained by pushing onward. The nights in the East are dark, especially in autumn and winter; and as no hand-posts or any other sign mark the way, nothing is so easy as to get astray in the uniform plains or the intricate defiles of the barren hills. It has been my lot on some occasions to stick fast in the deep snow without the possibility of advancing or retreating until the dawn of day came to rescue me from the uncomfortable position. At other times, after toiling the entire night in search of the right path, I have returned, towards morning, to the spot from whence I had started the preceding evening, where I was exposed to the provoking smiles of those who had vainly dissuaded me from the useless enterprise.

My observations, however, are only applicable

to such as venture in very small parties, because the caravans, in summer, usually prefer travelling at night to encountering the heat of the day; but then the muleteers and their mules seem to know their road by instinct.

CHAPTER II.

Mysterious village of Kúm-rúd.—Persian superstition about the ghúls, or land mermaids of the Kabir or Great Desert. —Mr. Morier's account of them.—Ruined karavanserais of Deïr and Kodj in the same desert.—Return of the zuvár from a pilgrimage to Mecca and Kerbelaï.—Distinction between the Meschedi, Kerbelaï, and Hajji.—Relative importance attached to those names.—Arrival at Kúm.—Institution of the chapar-khanehs or post-stations in Persia.—Remarks on the ruins of Sinsine.—Melons and wheat grown on the same beds at Kashan.—Reputed cowardice of the inhabitants.—They are good coppersmiths.—Velvet manufacturers of Kashan.—Summer and winter road to Isfahan.—Kúhrúd, with the dyke of Shah-Abbas.—Account of Kúhrúd.—Passage through the snow.—Buran karavanserai of Ak-Kemel.—Village of Sô. —Night accident on crossing a river.—Murchehar.—Ghez.—Arrival at Isfahan.

The river which flows close to the karavansarai in which we passed the night, and over which the Puli-Delauk, or bridge of the barber, is thrown, runs in a north-eastern direction, and, joining the river of Kercj, which we had crossed

at Kenare-gird, with a few more streams coming from Veromine, loses itself in the Salt Desert, converting a vast space of country into swamps. Near the junction of these rivers is a strong fortified village, called Kúm-rúd, of which strange tales are related. The inhabitants, it is said, belong to a distinct race, never associating with others. Some maintain that they are jealous followers of the Ali-allahi doctrine, recognising the divinity of Ali, the cousin of the Arab Prophet: others think they are the descendants of the ancient Parsi, or Gebrs, the disciples of the Zoroastrian Creed, who have always triumphantly resisted the adoption of the Mussulman tenets. As none of those whom I questioned had been at Kúm-rúd, or seen any of its inhabitants, and only spoke from hearsay, their information was very vague and unsatisfactory. At a later period, when I visited the mountain of Siah-Kúh, in the great Salt Desert, I was desirous of extending my excursion to Kúm-rúd; but after penetrating some way in that direction, and exploring the ruined building of Deïr, an edifice of the Sasanian epoch, I

could go no further on account of the intense heat, and the total absence of drinkable water. Want of opportunity prevented me from prosecuting this design afterwards; but I believe that Kúm-rúd, with the ruins of Koj, which are in the same vicinity, are more accessible from Puli-Delauk than from any other points; and I think both deserve the attention of future travellers, were it merely to ascertain what sort of men these Kúm-rúdi are, who have adopted the Chinese system of secluding themselves from the rest of the world.

As they live in the desert, the common people of Persia connect them with all the absurd accounts current concerning the ghúls and other evil spirits who are said to haunt those dreary and dismal wastes.

These superstitions are very old, and appear to have existed in remote antiquity among the Zend and other Asiatic races.*

I cannot give a better account of these ghúls than by quoting the passage of Mr. Morier on the subject, in his humorous and pleasant style

* See note at the end of the chapter.

of narration, when travelling over the same ground.

"The following day," says he, "we passed over it (part of the Salt Desert,) without inconvenience, though the Persians were not without some apprehensions of the *goule*, a species of land mermaid, which they affirm entices the traveller by its cries, and then tears him to pieces with its claws. They say that the goule has the faculty of changing itself into different shapes and colours; sometimes that it comes in a camel's form, sometimes as a cow, then as a horse; and when on a sudden we had discovered something on the horizon of the desert which we could not define, all the Persians at once exclaimed that it was a *goule*. With the gravest faces we were informed of the spells by which they had kept them at a distance, the most efficacious of which they said was loosening the string of their *shalwars*, or *riding trousers*."*

* See Morier's "Second Journey through Persia," &c. p. 168.

The name of *Kodj* is usually mentioned with that of the karavanserai of Deïr, making it Deiri-Kodj. We find them noticed by the Arab writers,* and they were probably on the direct line of communication which existed in former ages, between the southern parts of the empire and its Caspian provinces, passing through the Greek towns in Veromine.

On approaching Kúm the next morning, the 25th December, I met a numerous caravan of pilgrims returning from Kerbelaï, where they had been to offer their prayers at the shrine of *Husein*, the martyred son of Ali, and to carry the dead bodies of their relatives to be interred in that holy city of the Shiah Mussulmans. A great concourse of people had quitted the walls of the town: they were the friends of the pilgrims, and came out to con-

* Dir-Kard-Shir, says Ya Kúti, is a monastery, situated in the midst of a barren plain, between Rei and Kúm. It owes its foundation to Ardashir, the son of Babek, is very strong, and surrounded by high walls. It has a cistern cut in the rock. See "Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliotéque du Roi," tom. ii.

gratulate the travellers on their safe return, and on the acquisition of the title of Kerbelaï.

There are three places to which the Persian Shiahs resort in pilgrimage. The town of Mesched is reckoned the least in the scale of sanctity; and those who have been there to the tomb of Imam-Riza, obtain the name of Meschedi. The next after them are the Kerbelaï, who stand a degree higher in estimation; while those only who have visited the Caaba and the tomb of the Arab Prophet at Mecca and Medina, can lay claim to the title of Hajji.

It is quite ludicrous at times to observe the importance which is attached to these distinctions, especially among the inferior classes of the community.

A man will feel offended if you call him Meschedi, when he has a right to the superior degree of Kerbelaï, or the still higher and more pompous appellation of Hajji. Thus Meschedi, Kerbelaï, Hajji, become titles of distinction, of which the possessors are not a little vain, and often foolish enough to suppose that

Europe, for the regular conveyance of letters and parcels. It is only for the transmission of orders from the central authorities to the different governors of provinces, and for reports sent up by the latter to the Supreme Court. On such occasions a *golam* (literally, *a slave*), or confidential servant, is intrusted with the packets and despatched *chapari*, which means by post. Individuals who have letters to forward in the same direction, take advantage of these opportunities by paying a trifling remuneration to the bearer, who takes charge of their correspondence. Seven is the usual number of horses at each station, although it varies according to the exigences of the times or the importance of the line of communication. The three principal points with which Teheran keeps up a continued correspondence are, Tabriz to the west, Isfahan, to the south, and Mesched to the east.

With the exception of one or two horses at each station, which are sometimes, but not always, tolerable, the rest are in a most miserable condition; and the poor rider who has the

bad luck to bestride one of them is more knocked up by his jade than he is by the legitimate fatigues of the long journey. If, notwithstanding all his endeavours, his horse will not or cannot advance, he has the privilege of cutting off its tail and flourishing it before the face of the zobet, or keeper of the next post-station. This is the satisfaction granted him for having had to walk perhaps half the way on foot, with his saddle on one shoulder and his bag of despatches on the other.

The road from Kúm to Kashan offers few objects of interest, if we except the ruins of *Sinsine*, which must once have been an extensive town, but when, is a question, I believe, which has not yet been well settled. As I was running *chapari*—as the Persians express one who travels post—I could not be expected to attend to these ruins; but by what I learned from an intelligent missionary of the Propaganda, who discovered some subterranean chambers hid among the heaps of rubbish of the town of Sinsine, it is more than probable

that the antiquary would find here an interesting field for investigation. I take the liberty of pointing out to future travellers places where few researches have yet been made, but which seem to deserve attention, because it often happens that in our hurry to pay homage to the historical and more prominent monuments of past ages, we often pass unheeded the less apparent, but perhaps not the less curious remains of antiquity. This observation is chiefly applicable to Persia; for, notwithstanding the vast number of travellers whom curiosity leads to visit one of the most ancient and most powerful monarchies of the world, Persia has still been very imperfectly explored.

On approaching Kashan, we passed by considerable fields dug up and laid out in melon beds. Not to lose an inch of ground, or a drop of the water used for irrigation, the inhabitants of Kashan grow wheat on the same beds, which are accordingly encircled by a green fringe. The blades, moreover, shooting up, yield in thick clusters shade

and freshness to the melons, while they at the same time afford an agreeable object for the eye to rest on. I do not recollect having witnessed this peculiarity elsewhere in Persia.

The inhabitants of the towns are of very industrious habits, which partly compensates for their want of courage, for a *Kashi* is synonymous with a coward, and many are the tales that are told illustrative of their timorous dispositions, by their more courageous neighbours. These accusations are only true, relatively speaking, for, in the absolute sense of the word, all the Persians are more or less *Kashi*. Among other traits of cowardice laid to their charge, the Kashi are said to be always the best equipped from head to foot with defensive armour and offensive weapons, when on their pilgrimage to Meschid or Mecca, and to be loud in the praises of their own undaunted valour until the hour of danger arrives. When, however, the enemy, in the shape of Turcomans or Arabs, make their appearance, they are always the first to

run away. As the town of Kúm is noted for its sacred shrine of Fatimeh and its earthen pots which preserve water cool in summer, so is Kashan celebrated for the skill of its inhabitants as coppersmiths, and for its silk and cotton velvet manufactories.

A short ride to the right of Kashan is a pretty spot called *Finn*, to which the late Feth'-ali-Shah used sometimes to resort. The gardens are laid out in pleasant walks, shaded by elegant cypress and poplar trees, as well as by the majestic chinar. The pavilions are light and fantastic, with fresh crystal waters running through the lower apartments, while the upper stories are open on all four sides, to allow a free passage for the current of air, which is such a luxury in the hot plains of Kashan.

But what lessens considerably the favourable impression *Finn* would otherwise produce is, that before reaching it, the traveller must pass close to a pyramid of white mortar, with a

number of *Beluchi* heads stuck into it—a most appalling sight!

At Kashan we changed horses. The one I rode had brought me from Kúm, a distance of twenty farsangs, and was still quite frisky; but my servants did not fare so well, although they had obtained fresh horses at the intervening stages.

Two roads lead from Kashan to Isfahan, one over the mountains, passing by Kúhrúd, the other over Natens. The latter, although the more circuitous of the two, is the usual winter road, as it avoids the high mountains, which are generally covered with deep snow during that season. Kúhrúd, nevertheless, offering a shorter cut across the hills, the post stages are established along this line, a circumstance of which I was not sorry, for I had already traversed the former road in the spring of the same year; moreover, I did not mind having a little scramble in the snow; for an inhabitant of the north it was

more pleasing than otherwise to meet with an old friend and hoary companion of one's youthful days. I entertained, likewise, the hope of examining the famous dyke which was erected by Shah Abbas the Great, to gather the melting snow into one immense reservoir, out of which the water flows into the plains of Kashan, which it serves to fertilize. I was, however, rather disappointed in my expectations, as I passed the spot during the night, and, although the moon added much to the picturesque effect of the scene in the mountains, it did not yield sufficient light to enable me to follow the artificial work of the Bendi-Kúhrúd in all its details.

The plains of Kashan are among the hottest places of Persia in summer, and are said to breed quantities of scorpions of the large black species, which are more venomous than the pale grey ones. Chardin has already observed, two centuries ago, in his admirable work on Persia, that one of the modes of expressing one's hatred to an enemy was to wish him to be bitten by

they add to their personal merit. But instead of condemning the deluded judgment of others, we ought to look to ourselves, and see whether we are not actuated by the same impulses, and labouring under the same lamentable infirmities in respect to our worldly notions of rank and titles.

At Kûm, the Holy City, with the shrine of Fatmeh, sister to one of the great Imans, I stopped for a short time only, at a ruined karavanserai, now turned into a chapar-khaneh, or place where post-horses are held. The post in Persia is kept up by Government, which pays for the maintenance of each *chapar-khaneh*, or post station, in money and in kind; the administration of it is in the hands of the Postmaster-General, who farms the chapar-khanehs, separately or collectively, on a given line of communication with the capital.

There are chapar-khanehs on all the principal roads leading to Teheran, but the towns in the interior do not enjoy the same advantage. The post, however, here is not instituted as in

a scorpion of Kashan, or to be made Governor of the province of Ghilan; the latter, on the Caspian, being reckoned the most unwholesome province of Persia and the most subject to malignant fevers.

On leaving Kashan the weather was quite warm, but the atmosphere grew gradually cooler as we rose up the mountains, and, on reaching the dyke of Kúhrúd, we found ourselves in the depth of winter. The crests and the flanks of the hills were covered with snow; under our feet there was less, but the road was slippery; and the horses, not being sharp-shod, moved with great difficulty up the steep ascent, stumbling and sliding at every step. At some distance from the village of Kúhrúd, I was surprised at seeing, at that time of night, a light burning in a burying-ground to our right. It issued from a low temporary hut, constructed over a tomb, and the shadow of a human form was seen moving to and fro in slow measured cadence. On nearing the spot our ears were struck with low incantations and most guttural

sounds. They proceeded from a Mullah who was reading the Kúran.

It is sometimes customary in Persia for the relatives of a deceased person to engage a Mullah to recite prayers over his tomb, or to read the Kúran for a certain number of days for the repose of the departed soul.

The district of *Kúhrúd*, together with *Natens*, which is distant from the village of Kúhrúd about ten farsangs to the East behind the mountains, has sixty-three villages, which, at the time I passed through that country, were in the hands of a relative of the Prime Minister, by name Abdullah-Khan. Kúhrúd has many orchards with fruit-trees, but is deficient in fields for sowing corn, which is brought from *Josheghán*, a small district about three farsangs to the West.

The houses are large, mostly built with two stories, and have an appearance of cleanliness about them which is not often observable in the villages on the plain. The people likewise are a fine race of men and women, who seem to be

well off. In this particular also they are an exception to the less fortunate occupiers of the lowlands. The *Kúhrúdi* speak a peculiar corruption of the Persian language, a patois of their own.

The direct road to *Só*, the next station, being completely choked up by deep snow, a more easy path was pointed out to us by the karavanserai of Ak-Kemal, which took us, by a roundabout way, first to S.S.W. by S., and from the karavanserai to S.E. by E.S.E.

I do not know in what state the direct road may have been, but the one we followed was anything but easy. First of all there was no road; a caravan which was said to have preceded us in the same direction that morning, had, it seems, the start of us of several hours, and the wind being strong in these alpine regions, had obliterated the traces of their march by drifts of snow, just as sand is shifted about by the whirlwinds of the desert. We moved on accordingly at random, the poor horses sinking up to their girths at every step they took, until,

after much plunging and rearing, we came on the traces of the caravan, and soon espied it at a distance, moving like a string of geese along the snowy ocean. Pushing onward, as well as the path would allow us, we at last came up with the party, which consisted of a dozen chalvadars, or muleteers, who were carrying some bales of merchandise to Isfahan on the backs of their horses and mules. The difficulties of the march soon recommenced; we had not yet reached the high table land, and the intervening space was hill and dale. The snow, although lying deep on the former, could not be compared to what had accumulated in the narrow valleys, and the poor beasts who led the van of the column and served as pioneers, sunk so completely into the snow that they could advance no further. What was to be done?—the whole caravan was obliged to halt. The men gathered together to extricate the poor animals out of their uncomfortable position, and I admired the ingenious plan they had recourse to. After freeing the beasts of their burthens,

they stripped themselves of their felt great coats, and, spreading them on the ground, got the feet of their horses upon them. Although the felted garments gave way beneath the weight of the animal, still it in this manner got some sort of footing. In this fashion we got over the most deep and difficult portions of the road, and it may easily be conceived how slowly we advanced. It was lucky that the weather cleared up, and the wind abated, for a *buran*, or snow-drift, in these bleak and barren wastes is at times attended with fatal consequences. The chalvadars usually when overtaken by a buran, throw their goods in the middle of the way, and themselves seek for safety with their cattle in the nearest village or karavanserai, only returning when the weather clears up, to fetch their bales of merchandise, which are sufficiently safe during their absence, as no one will venture out as long as the buran lasts, which is sometimes several days.

After swallowing a few cold boiled eggs, and some greasy cold pillau, in a corner of the karavanserai of Ak-Kemal, we again vaulted

into our saddles, and as the country presented fewer obstacles, arrived at the pretty village of *Só*, about sun-set.

As we had gone over so little ground this day, and I wished to arrive in the course of the following day at Isfahan, a distance of from eighteen to nineteen farsangs, we only allowed ourselves time to snatch a few hours' rest, and, taking fresh post-horses, set off at night. All went well, until we arrived at a mountain-river, which we had to cross, just above a cataract. We had before us a considerable sheet of water, which had been frozen up, presenting here and there broad crevices and pools, which in the day-time could easily be avoided, but at night were hardly discernible. We had, of course, to dismount, and lead our horses by the bridle; but as they were not sharp-shod, they slipped from right to left, dragging us after them, and, before the passage could be effected, both myself and my horse got up to our middle in water. On gaining the other shore, I had to change my shirt and under dress, "à la belle étoile,"

and squeezing out the water from the cloth trousers, pulled them on as well as I could. As the wind was fresh and the night frosty, my clothes got stiff and stuck to the body. To crown the discomfort of this night's journey, the animal I rode stumbled dreadfully, so that as soon as I set it into a canter, we regularly came down together to the ground. We arrived at Murchehar in the morning, and I was shown into the inner court of an Imam-Zade, where I had the great luxury of changing my apparel and taking some rest and food.

Murchehar is a very considerable village, and has often been described. It is celebrated for a battle which was fought on its plains between Nadir Shah and the Affghans, who were routed, and after their defeat retired from Isfahan and left the country. From Murchehar we came to Ghez, likewise a large village, with a thousand houses, and a very fine karavanserai, and at last reached the gates of Isfahan some time after sunset, having travelled from Teheran, a distance of fifty-eight or sixty farsangs, equal

to two hundred and twenty-five miles, in five days.

I had to traverse the whole breadth of the town from north to south; first by cut-throat lanes between high-raised walls which enclose the gardens of the suburbs; then by covered bazaars, which, being mostly untenanted, were pitch dark, and fast crumbling into ruins; next through broader bazaars, lit up here and there, by some solitary lamp, till I reached the chebar-bagh of Shah Abbas, that celebrated alley, bordered by Eastern plane-trees, which brought me to the magnificent stone-bridge over the Zoyenderúd. Here I felt more at home, as I had so frequently crossed the river over this bridge in the spring and summer of the same year. On the opposite side is the suburb of Julfa, the Armenian quarter of Isfahan, and thither I hastened to take up my abode with my friend M. Eugène Boré, whom I found still up, and much surprised to see me arrive so late. He received me with his usual cordiality, and after some delicious cups

of hot tea, which are as welcome to the stomach after the fatigues of a tedious journey as the society of a friend after a long absence is to the heart, I felt quite happy at being able to stretch my limbs, for so many hours cramped in the saddle, and betake myself to rest.

NOTE TO CHAPTER II.

Page 22.—We find a curious description of these evil spirits of the desert in Marco Polo's "Travels through Central Asia, in the Thirteenth Century":—

"It is asserted," says the author, "as a well known fact, that this desert (*Kobi*, in the vicinity of the town of Lop) is the abode of many evil spirits, which amuse travellers to their destruction with most extraordinary illusions. If during the day-time, any person remains behind on the road, either when overtaken by sleep, or detained by their natural occasions, until the karavan has passed a hill, and is no longer in sight, they unexpectedly hear themselves called to by their names, and in a tone of voice to which they are accustomed. Supposing the call to proceed from their companions, they are led away by it from the direct road, and not knowing in what direction to advance, are left to perish.

"In the night time they are persuaded they hear the

march of a large cavalcade on one side or on the other of the road, and concluding the noise to be that of footsteps of their party, they direct theirs to the quarter from whence it seems to proceed: but, upon the breaking of day, find they have been misled and drawn into a situation of danger. Sometimes likewise during the day, these spirits assume the appearance of their travelling companions, who address them by name, and endeavour to conduct them out of the proper way-road. It is said also that some persons in their course across the desert have seen what appeared to them to be a body of armed men, advancing towards them, and apprehensive of being attacked and plundered, have taken to flight; losing by this the right path, and ignorant of the direction they should take to regain it, they have perished miserably of hunger. Marvellous, indeed, and almost passing belief, are the stories related of these spirits of the desert, which are said at times to fill the air with the sounds of all kinds of musical instruments, and also of drums and the clash of arms, obliging the travellers to close their line of march, and to proceed in more compact order." —(See the English version of Marco Polo's Travels, by Marsden, chap. xxxv., p. 159.)

CHAPTER III.

A school established at Julfa for the instruction of the Armenian youth.—Religious tolerance of the Isfahani Mussulman clergy.—Reasons for it.—Progress of Suffeïsm.—Lutis of Isfahan.—Bast, or places of refuge.—Form the project of visiting Shushter and the mountains of the Bakhtiyaris.—Quit Isfahan.—Kal'eh Rustám.—Cheshme-Multan.—Mayar.—Brilliant night meteors.—Kumisheh.—Account of a battle fought near it at the accession of Mohammed Shah to the throne.—Gum-ammoniac plant.—Description of the fortress and village of Yezdehast.—Summer and winter road to Shiráz.—Abadeh.—Surmeh.—Karavanserai of Dehbid.

Under the hospitable roof, and surrounded by the friendly attentions of my host, M. E. Boré, I rested a few days at Isfahan before I resumed my journey to Persepolis. The time that was not employed in visiting those acquaintances with whom I had associated on my former stay in this town, was spent in the edifying company of this worthy disciple of Christ, who had willingly given up his worldly prospects, the

comforts and pleasures of his native land, to toil, the cross in hand, for the spiritual regeneration of his benighted brethren in the East.

I met likewise at his house an intelligent French traveller, Monsieur le Comte de Sivrac, who had visited Turkey, Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, and Arabia, and was now travelling through Persia with the object of acquiring a comprehensive idea of the state of Muhammedanism in the three old continents of the world.

The second day of my arrival, M. Boré showed me the school he had established for the Armenian youth at Julfa. Although hardly five months had elapsed since its foundation, there were already thirty-one pupils, of whom five were Mussulmans. The progress they had made during this short period in reading, translating from French into Armenian and Persian, as well as in the first elements of geography, was quite surprising, and showed what perseverance in a good cause, with God's assistance, is able to effect. A munshi (a teacher) taught

them the Persian, an Armenian master the Armenian language, although both under the immediate direction of M. Boré (well versed in most of the Oriental languages), who took upon himself the task of teaching the children the French language and geography, but, above all, to instruct his young Christian flock in the sublime doctrines of our revealed faith, whilst the young Mussulman scholars had their own Persian Mullah. The fact of Mussulman parents sending their children to learn at a Christian institution, and that too at Isfahan, the seat of Mussulman orthodoxy, is a great proof of the tolerance of the Persians in religious matters, to which even the chief priest set an example. The former Imam-Juma (lately deceased), to whose ancient family the people of Isfahan bear a profound veneration, attaching an idea of sanctity to it, used to take a peculiar delight in the conversation of the Catholic missionaries of Julfa on religious subjects. Sayyid Mohammed Baghir, the first Mushteïd, or propounder of the law, to whose

decisions on points of Mussulman doctrine all Persia looks up, is also distinguished for the spirit of toleration, justice, and impartiality, with which he treats the Christian population of Julfa whenever they address themselves to his tribunal.

Independently of the personal character of the individuals mentioned, several other causes may have wrought this beneficial change in the policy of the Mussulman clergy.

Firstly, the progress *Suffëism* has made of late years in the kingdom. The followers of this sect, who formerly dared not avow their sentiments, now openly profess their doctrines, the main object of which is to keep more to the spirit than to the letter of the law; although many have gone beyond the prescribed limits, and have become Freethinkers, or else indifferent, on matters of religion. Even many members of the clergy profess, if not outwardly, at least in private, the tenets of the Suffi.

Secondly, it may be attributable to the start

which the secular power has gained over the clerical in late years; for even during the reign of the late King, the influence of the clergy over public opinion was still very great, and at times overbearing. As an instance of the change which has taken place in favour of Royalty, we may here mention, that although Fet'h-Ali-Shah was infinitely more proud than the reigning sovereign, and notwithstanding that in Persia all is based on etiquette, still he always paid the first visit to the Mushteïd whenever he went to Isfahan. In 1841, when Muhammed-Shah was approaching that city, the same Mushteïd came out of the gates to congratulate his Majesty on his arrival. The old King, it is true, to keep up appearances, usually made believe that chance alone brought him into the vicinity of the Mushteïd's dwelling, and that, being so near, it would be unkind not to see his old friend after a long absence; but then this chance had become a rule from which the King never deviated, and which the Mushteïd reckoned as his due.

A circumstance which has tended likewise, in a great measure, to paralyze of late years the power of the Isfahan clergy, is the successful blow that has been levelled against the Lutis.

The Lutis are a band of the most unprincipled and worst description of individuals, who club together, and are mixed up with all the broils which happen in Persian towns where the police has not much power. At Isfahan they once formed a regular gang, committing outrages in open day with impunity, because they were protected by the clergy. Their excesses and audacity had arrived at such a pitch, that after the death of Fet'h-Ali-Shah, one of these Lutis, named Ramazan, was proclaimed King by his associates, and styled *Ramazan-Shah*. Gold and silver coins were even struck in his name, and it was only by a rival Luti that he was put down. This was all a farce; but the people suffered by it, and the civil authorities of the town were brought into contempt. Khozrow-Khan, one of the old king's principal eunuchs, succeeded in estab-

lishing some order; but at his recall the Lutis again obtained sway, during the weak administration of Isfahan by Fazl-Ullah-Khan. It is reported that at his approach the Isfahan Lutis, who are known for their ready wit and daring spirit, went out in a body to meet him, and being aware with whom they had to deal, welcomed Fazl-Ullah-Khan, assuring him that the golden days of Isfahan had returned, for at the bare notice of his approach, the Lutis had left the town in a body.

Since the administration of Manúcher-Khan, the Moétemid Daulet, the Lutis, as well as the other disturbers of the peace, have been brought to book, and hunted out of their last places of refuge.

Formerly the whole mahaleh, or quarter of Bidabad, was reckoned *Bást*, or a sacred asylum * for all sorts of malefactors who wished to avoid the law, because the house of the Great Mushteïd is situated in that part of the town. The Moétemid, in the stern pursuit

* See Note at the end of the chapter.

of justice, broke through this privilege, which time and public opinion had sanctified; and many were the culprits who were sent to Teheran to expiate their misdeeds by being publicly executed.

On visiting the Moétemid, I learned that he was making preparations for a military tour into the other provinces under his control, namely, Luristán and Arábistán, or Khúzistán. The Moétemid being acquainted with my roving propensities, (as we had already met on former occasions, once in the province of Ghilán, next on the Turkish frontier, and later on the limits of Turkomania,) proposed that I should accompany him, or, if I were unwilling to relinquish my trip to Persepolis, that I should, at least, before I returned to Teheran, visit him at Shúshter, promising, at the same time, to show me a short cut through the Bakhtiyari mountains, between that town and Isfahan.

I had often entertained a wish to penetrate into the Bakhtiyari country, so little known, yet so replete with interest, as connected with

the expedition of Alexander the Great, and his successors; and more especially as the country south of the great chain probably formed the site of the ancient *Elam* of Scripture, a powerful nation in the early days of Abraham, before the kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon rose into notice in the east. The learned men of Europe have for some years past turned their attention to this quarter, and expressed a wish to know whether it contains any monuments of antiquity. But the turbulent and unruly tribes who inhabit these mountainous regions have till now nearly precluded all access to them, not only for European travellers, but even for the native Persians themselves.

The circumstance of the Governor of Isfahan going among them with an armed force, appeared so favourable an opportunity to explore this wild country, that I readily accepted his offer, and promised to visit him at Shúshter, as soon as I had satisfied my curiosity at Takhti Jemshid.

This new scheme introduced a great modifi-

cation into the plan I had previously chalked out for my journey. I could no longer set apart the number of days I wished for Persepolis, and the ruins on the plain of Murgab, and I had to make up, by speedy travelling, the time I should necessarily lose by the circuitous route I intended to pursue on my return to Teheran.

On the 1st of January, 1841, at noon, I left Isfahan, directing my course to the south, by the road leading to Shiraz. My amiable host, M. Boré, accompanied me beyond the broken ground of Hezar-derre, the scene, according to Persian romance, of the chivalrous feats of their hero Rustám. The ruins of his palace are shown to this day, perched on the peak of a lofty and precipitous branch of the hills to the west. In the spring of the preceding year, my friend and myself had ascended these rugged heights, and visited the ruins, which consist of several apartments, the walls of which are in part broken. The building is of the modern style of Persian architecture, with pointed

arched windows and doorways. The walls and the ceiling are covered with white *stucco*, and the masonry so well preserved, that we climbed to the top of the building in order to command a better view of the plain of Isfahan, spread below our feet. With the exception of the valley of the Gurghan, with the plain of Turkomania, from the heights of the Alburs, I never recollect to have witnessed a more splendid panorama than that which we enjoyed from Kal'eh Rustám. The Zoyenderúd river was seen pursuing its meandering course from the west, through the green fields and numerous villages of the fertile districts of Linjan and Marbin, whilst to the north and north-east, from our elevated station, we had the advantage of embracing the whole circumference of Isfahan, with its palaces, gardens, cupolas, minarets, pigeon-towers, groves, bridges, and ruins scattered in grand and lyric confusion. Chains of mountains forming fantastic groups, traverse the back ground in different directions, and at various distances, thus offering materials for

judging better of perspective, whilst their variegated hues give colouring to the landscape. If, to please the national pride, we admit with the Persians, that the ruins in question formed once the abode of their favourite hero, then I can only add that Rustám's taste at least equalled in amount the bravery for which they gave him credit. For there is no spot in the neighbourhood of Isfahan from whence a better view can be obtained of the country than from Kal'eh Rustám, not even from Kúhi-sefa.

On the south-western side of the same hill are some natural caves in the rocks called *Chesme Multán*, where the old Gebrs, it is said, buried their dead. Here are the remains of a few low buildings, evidently for the purpose of containing dead bodies. A peculiarity which I had not before noticed in other buildings was, that together with the cement serving to join the stones, there were rags. I found likewise some calcinated bones in these buildings, which makes me doubt that these catacombs could ever have belonged to the ancient Gebrs,

who never burned their dead. It would have been an act of impiety and a sacrilege to sully the pure essence of Ormûzd, typified by fire, by bringing it in contact with an unclean thing. Fresh dead bodies were held as such among the Zend race, just as they were with the Hebrews according to the laws of Moses. It is a curious fact, that many enactments on this head, as well as on other points in the Zoroastrian Creed, perfectly correspond with the laws of the inspired legislator of Israel.*

May not the sepulchres at the Cheshme, or springs of Multán, be, with more probability, attributed to those Indians who in former ages carried on a considerable land commerce between Persia and India, through the town of Multán,† on the Indus, which formed the depôt of their traffic? These merchants were settled in Isfahan, and went by the name of Multani. It is well known that the custom

* See Rhode—Die Heilige Sage des Zend Volks, &c.

† See note at the end of the chapter.

of burning the dead is still prevalent in India.

I arrived at Mayár, the first station from Isfahan, at six in the evening, having made eight farsangs,* or thirty miles, at a brisk trot. Wishing to reach Yezde-hást the next day, I left Mayár at night and had for my entertainment on the road some splendid fireworks in the heavens. The sky was beautifully clear—the stars shone brightly; the falling stars were very frequent, leaving behind them a luminous path as they shot across the firmament in a curved line; one in particular, a very bright meteor, burst in the air, scattering its dazzling fragments towards our sphere. I am not aware whether this meteorological phenomenon was noticed at any observatory. It happened on the night between the 1st and 2d of January,

* We find in one of the books of the Zend Avesta the following definition of a farsang:—

"A farsang, it is said, is a distance within which a long-sighted man can see a camel, and distinguish whether it be white or black."—*Bundehesch*, cap. xxvi.

1841, and probably from two to three in the morning.

The distance from Mayár to Kúmisheh is five and a-half or six farsangs, the road leading through a sufficiently level tract, with a continuous chain of hills to the west, but having a more open country to the east, intersected by low and detached hillocks.

Kúmisheh is situated at the southern extremity of a plain of several farsangs in extent, on which there are some villages, and much cultivated ground; the country being intersected by the kerize, or canals for the irrigation of the fields. The town is reduced to a small fortified place, surrounded by a high wall in good condition, and flanked by bastions; but Kúmisheh must have been at some former period a very considerable city, for the ruins which now surround it are extensive. The traces of a number of old aqueducts likewise prove that the neighbourhood must have been at one time well populated. A rivulet which flows out of the valley to the south below

Mahsúd-beg, and from the direction of Isferján, passes close to the eastern walls of the city, and is afterwards drained of its waters for the irrigation of the fields. On approaching Kúmisheh, we passed by the Imam-zadeh Shah-Riza, a lovely spot, with fine chinars (the Oriental plane-tree).

Our direction from Kúmisheh to Yezde-hást lay S.S.E. nearly the whole way through a valley from two to three farsangs in breadth, between two ranges of low hills, having beyond them to the west another high chain of mountains covered with snow, namely, the Bakhtiyari mountains, or, as I shall later have to call them, the Ardekán Chain.

At Mahsúd-beg, a neat village, four farsangs distant from Kúmisheh, I changed horses, as I had yet full six farsangs to travel before I could reach Yezde-hást.

It was on the plain between Mahsúd-beg and Kúmisheh that, in the spring of 1835, an engagement took place between the forces of the reigning Shah, who had then lately

ascended the throne, and the troops of his uncle the Ferman-Ferma of Fars.

On assuming the reins of government in the Kajar capital of Teheran, Muhammed-Shah found it necessary to pacify the southern provinces of his kingdom, where his two uncles, Husein Ali Mirza, the Ferman-Ferma of Fars, and Hasan Ali Mirza, Governor of Kerman, refused to acknowledge his title to the crown of Persia, and were making preparations to oppose him by force of arms. On the part of the King, Firúz Mirza, his step-brother, was nominally appointed Chief of Fars, but the real authority was vested in the hands of Manucher Khan the Moétemid Daulet.

While the Royal troops were moving towards the south, Hasan Ali Mirza, who had placed himself at the head of a small army to uphold the pretensions of his elder brother to the throne, had left Shiraz and was hastening to Isfahan. As the inhabitants of the latter city, instigated by the clergy, and by one of the old ministers of the late Shah, were inimically

disposed to the young King, it became a matter of material importance to prevent this junction from taking place, which was within a hair's-breadth of occurring.

Both armies had entered the valley of Kúmisheh without knowing they were so near each other. The rebels had taken the upper road, along the foot of the western range, or the Kuhi Tangún; while the troops of the Shah were following the skirts of the Kuhi Dumbulá, or the eastern range of mountains. Although the rival camps were not more than three or four farsangs asunder, the mist was so thick that they were prevented from seeing each other. Hasan Ali Mirza was in advance of the Royal troops, nearer to Kúmisheh than they were. An imprudent shot which was fired in his camp awakened the suspicions of the opposite party. It was the more delicate ear of a female that first caught the sound, rendered very indistinct from the denseness of the fog, and gave the alarm. This female was an Armenian lady, the wife of an English officer, then

in the service of the Shah, and though a woman of a very diminutive figure, was still possessed of great personal courage and a fearless rider.* The shot was fired by order of Hasan Ali Mirza, as a signal to apprize the inhabitants of Kúmisheh of his approach, for they likewise were enlisted in his cause, and only waited for his arrival to open the gate for his reception. Proper measures were instantly adopted by Sir Henry Bethune (General Lindsey, or *Linji*, as the Persians called him), who headed the troops of the Shah, to take the enemy by surprise, and they proved so effectual that the rebel troops were soon routed. It was a *sauve qui peut*, Hasan Ali Mirza being one of the foremost to take his flight into the mountains.

The valley of Kúmisheh possesses a considerable number of villages, too tedious to enumerate, and well cultivated fields on the western bank of the rivulet, previously noticed, but the eastern side is chiefly a barren plain.

* The widow of the late Captain Shee.

I here gathered the gum of a resinous plant. It still adhered to the stem in the form of congealed drops. This is the gum ammoniac which grows in great profusion on the plain. I collected several specimens of the plant, although it was dry at this season, and sent them to my much esteemed friend, Mr. de Fisher, Director of the Imperial Botanical Garden at St. Petersburgh.*

Leaving behind us *Aminabad* and the ruins of *Gúdehgil*, we arrived at Yezde-hast near sunset, and were introduced into the gates of this

* The elegant author of "The History of the Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece," in enumerating the various articles which were introduced into Greece by its trade with foreign countries, mentions, among others, the *gum ammoniac*, which, he says, "Distils in a milky juice from an umbelliferous plant, growing in the Desert, near the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, as well as on the confines of Cyrene; whence it appears to have been chiefly exported." (See Mr. St. John's "History of the Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece," vol. iii. chap. xiii. p. 383.) This gum derived its name of ammoniac, or ammonium, probably from the circumstance of the plant's growing in the vicinity of the Temple of Jupiter *Ammon*.

original fort by a drawbridge lowered down for our reception. The fortress of Yezde-hast is perched on the summit of an isolated rock, standing in a ravine, with abrupt perpendicular banks on its several faces. A steep ascent leads up to the gate, from which you are still separated by a yawning chasm, over which the inhabitants throw a drawbridge to allow entrance into the stronghold. The fort has two rows of houses, which are two stories high, and separated by a narrow street. The people of the place took me to an ancient edifice, where, according to tradition, there once stood a temple, and pointed out some fragments of columns, but it had grown so dark, and I felt, moreover, so fatigued from the day's journey, that I did not pay much attention to the place. Yezde-hast is certainly prior to the Arab conquest, and is traceable to Gebr origin by the very name it bears, the Zend-word *Yezd-hast* being interpreted by *God willed it.*

I found the inhabitants rather impudent, and very rapacious; probably because they feel

themselves more secure than their neighbours in their stronghold, and can with more safety defy the authorities. Although accustomed to hard riding, and fond of the exercise, I felt bruised all over by the last two days' ride, from the preceding halting-place at Mayar. The distance to Yezde-hást is sixteen farsangs, equal to sixty miles; but it was not so much the distance as the jolting paces of the post-horses.

The people of the place showed me the spot from whence their forefathers had, in the last century, exercised a summary and retributive justice on the person of Zeki-Khan, the brother of Kerim-Khan-Zend. Unlike the latter, who governed Persia after the death of Nadir Shah, under the title of *Vakil*, and was a man distinguished for his humane and benevolent character, Zeki-Khan was cruel and oppressive. Displeased at the inhabitants of Yezde-hást for refusing to pay a certain contribution which he endeavoured to force on them, he ordered several of their chief men to be thrown down the precipitous rock of the castle

in his presence. This act of barbarity so exasperated the rest, that they seized on the tyrant, and inflicted on him the same punishment he had caused their fellow-citizens to suffer, by casting him out of the window of his apartment which overlooked an abyss, so that he was dashed to pieces by the fall.

My night was rendered restless by revolving in my mind all the black and sanguinary deeds which had been perpetrated within these walls, and I rose in the morning without feeling refreshed. While the horses were getting ready, I descended the steep hill to examine at the foot of it the numerous caverns excavated in the same rock, which upholds the fort of Yezde-hást. They are partly the work of nature, aided by the hand of man, and sufficiently spacious to contain the flocks of the inhabitants, as well as the horses, mules, and camels of the caravans that stop here during the night. Some have been turned into *dukans*, or shops, provided with the necessaries for travellers.

This day, 3d January, I made fifteen farsangs,

or fifty-six and a-half miles, passing first through *Shulgestán*, distant six farsangs from Yezde-hást; then Abadeh, reckoned five farsangs from the former, and *Surmeh* four farsangs more. I now moved along the lower or winter road lying to the east of the summer route to Shiraz. The country as I advanced became less barren than I had found it around Yezde-hást. Abadeh, although surrounded with some ruins and abandoned gardens, still preserves a neat appearance. It is the chief place of a district, which, bearing the same name, is encompassed by a mud wall protected by turrets, and pays an annual tax of six thousand tomans, or about three thousand pounds, to the Divan.

The general direction of the road is south-east, the four last farsangs leaning rather E.S.E. About Surmeh the country is particularly well cultivated, and abounding in villages.

Nine farsangs distant from Surmeh, in a direct line to the east, lies the town of *Abergúh*, a fortified place, which has many villages under its control, and falls at present

under the jurisdiction of Isfahan, to which a road leads through the desert. It is governed by the brother-in-law of the Il-Khani of Fars, by name Mohamed Kasim Khan, whom the late Ferman Ferma of Fars, deprived of his sight, on account of his having favoured the interests of the deceased Naib-Sultan, Abbas-Mirza, father of the present Shah. The 4th of January brought me to the karavanserai of Dehbid, close to a huge heap of earth, which in some remote time must have been a large edifice. The natives call it the Gumbed-i-Behram, and add, that it was one of the eight pleasure palaces built by that sportsman, Shah Behram-Gur. I found the night at the karavanserai bitterly cold, as no fuel could be procured; neither was there a door to the little cell I occupied, so that the piercing wind blew freely in during the whole night.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

Page 50.—The custom prevailing in the East, of having places of asylum, owes its origin probably to the Mosaic law concerning the six cities of refuge, which were allotted to such who had slain any person at unawares. "Then shall ye appoint you cities to be cities of refuge for you; that the slayer may flee thither, which killeth any person at unawares. And they shall be unto you cities for refuge from the avenger; that the manslayer die not, until he stand before the congregation in judgment," &c., &c. Numbers xxxv. 11, 12. (See likewise in Joshua xx. 1—9, for the names of the six cities of refuge, and the rules laid down for them.)

Independently of the mosques, the stables of the Shah are reckoned sacred places, more particularly close to the manger of the King's riding horses.

In the year 1837, before the campaign of Khorassan, one of the Persian foot regiments happening to be dissatisfied with their Chief, took their station among the Royal horses piquetted near the garden of Negaristan (close to the walls of Teheran), where the King was at the time residing, and remained there, with their planted colours, several weeks, until their commander was changed, and another one appointed more to their liking.

The huge gun that stands on an elevated platform in the great Maidan, or outer court-yard of the palace at Teheran, is likewise considered a sanctuary to which the military repair sometimes when they become clamorous about receiving the arrears of their salary.

A place of refuge, somewhat similar to these Persian *basts*, as they are called, existed formerly in the city of London, where debtors could not be molested by their creditors, and were out of reach of pursuit. This place bore the name of Alsatia, and embraced, if I am not mistaken, the space between Blackfriars-bridge and Temple-bar, leading to the water side. In Pennant's account of London we read the following passage:—"Its precincts (the great house of Black friars, or Dominicans) was very large, had four gates, and contained numbers of shops, the inhabitants of which were subject only to the King, the Superior of the house, and their own Justices. It also became a sanctuary for debtors, and even malefactors, a privilege which it preserved even long after the repression of religious houses."

Page 56.—Chardin, in his description of Isfahan, mentions the following:—

"Le caravanserai des Multaniens est situé a côté d'un beau bazar qui porte le meme nom de Multaniens qui sont les Indiens de Multan—la 1re ville des Indes, du côté de la forteresse de Candahar, qui est sur la frontiére de la Perse, vers le nord. Tout le Commerce des Indes en Perse se faisait communément par là, avant la navigation des Européens au sein Persique."—(Voyages de Chardin en Perse, &c., tom. vii., p. 360, edition de Langlès.)

CHAPTER IV.

Arrival at the Village of Meshedi-Murgab.—Arab Settlers.—Fertility of the Plain of Murgab.—Boundary.—River of Murgab, the *Medus* of the Ancients.—View of the ruins from an elevation.—Goher-Shah.—Takhti-Madre Soliman.—Custom among the Eastern Monarchs of giving audiences in the open air.—Zindan or Dustagh-Khaneh.—Visit the Tomb of Meshedi Madre Soliman.—Supposed Tomb of Cyrus.—Opposition made by the Iliyats.—Evening spent in their Tents.—Karavanserai of Murgab, the supposed abode of the Magi.—The Pilaster with the Cherub.—Discovery of a dial cut on the white stone steps of the Tomb of Cyrus.—Hieroglyphics.—Traverse the Ak-Gaduk and Valley of Kamin.—Arrival at Seidan.

After a fatiguing and cold morning ride, first along the plain of Kunkuri, in a southern direction, then over a hilly country, we descended into a fine plain, encompassed by lofty mountains, and alighted at the village of Meshedi-Murgab, seven farsangs (twenty-six and a-half miles) distant from Dehbid.

It is inhabited by an Arab tribe, who have been settled at this place ever since the time of the Muhammedan conquest of Persia. The men are very brown, but well proportioned, and of a fine stately appearance. Some of the women are beautiful, with delicate features, and comparatively fair. The weather being warm and pleasant, I found them sitting outside their dwellings weaving carpets. I had been accustomed to find the Iliyats, and the half sedentary tribes generally, very filthy, and was, therefore, not a little surprised to see so much cleanliness around me. The only inconvenience I experienced was, that the obliging housewives, in their anxiety to make the room destined for my reception look still cleaner, raised such a dust that it was some time before I could venture to occupy it.

The soil of Murgab is very productive, being well watered; but, for want of hands, it is not much cultivated. The Arabs assured me, that in consequence of the scarcity of population, great tracts of very rich and fertile

land have not been touched by the plough for upwards of fifty years. On newly tilled ground, well watered by artificial means, the crop yields from twenty to twenty-five fold of barley and wheat; under less advantageous circumstances, the harvest does not exceed from twelve to fifteen fold. The soil of Murgab belongs to the Divan, that is to say, is Crown property, and leased, together with the water, to the peasantry. The Divan furnishes them, at the same time, with the necessary grain for seed. Out of the profits of the harvest, the husbandman pays two parts to the land-owner, retaining one-third for his labour and the use of his oxen and implements of husbandry.

The soil in general is of a clayey substance, rendering the roads across the plain scarcely practicable during the rainy seasons of autumn and winter.

The plain of Murgab extends from four to four and a-half farsangs from east to west, and about three farsangs from north to south.

A hilly country separates it on the north from the extensive plain of Kunkuri; a range of mountains on its eastern side divides it from the buluk or district of *Baynód*, rich in extensive orchards full of fruit trees. Another belt of high hills severs it from the valley of Kamin to the south; while the Bulverdi hills close it in on the west and south-west, beyond which rise the lofty heights of the Ardekan, capped with eternal snow.

The valley of Murgab is traversed in its whole extent by a river which bears its name.* It takes its rise in the Bulverdi, or, perhaps, even the Ardekan hills, and after running across the southern extremity of the Kunkuri plain from west to east, and passing by the karavanserai of Khúneh Karsin under a bridge, which I had crossed on coming from Dehbid, it bends to the south, and, disappearing for a while behind the mountains, makes its reappear-

* It is the same which in Sir Robert Kerr Porter's "Travels in Persia," &c., is called the *Kúr-ab*, the Medus of the ancients. See vol. i., pp. 484, and 512.

ance in the plain of Múrgab, through which it flows along the eastern wall which separates the town of Murgab from Baynod. It then turns to the west, crossing the plain till it reaches Tengi-Sivend, or the defile of Sivend.

Having ploughed its way through the hills in a south-western direction, the Murgab river reappears in the district of Hafrek, where it assumes the name of *Polvar*. Passing close to the ruined city of Istakhr, it enters the plain of Merdasht, having the Husein-Kuh, with the sculptures of Nakshi-Rustam to the right, and the Kuhi-Rahmed, with the bas-reliefs of Nakshi Rejeb and the ruins of Takhti Jemshid, to the left. The Polvar runs in a south-westerly direction across the plain, and joins the Kúm-Firuz (ancient Araxes) near the bridge of Púli Khan, serving, in its latter course, as a line of demarcation between the districts of Merdasht to its left, and Hafrek to the right.

Independently of the waters of the Múrgab, which fertilize the plain to a great extent, there

are several springs. Canals likewise intersect the country in various directions, especially on the western side of the valley. This abundance of water produces fine pastures, on which droves of mares are turned out to graze.

When we consider these natural advantages, we are not surprised that the plain of Múrgab attracted the attention of men in the earliest ages of the world; and the grand relics scattered over the ground attest that the people who erected them must have attained a considerable degree of civilization, although we may lose ourselves in conjectures as to the probable time when they flourished.

Leaving one of my servants with the baggage at the village of Murgab, I took the other, together with a native guide, to explore the curiosities of the plain. We traversed some canals in a south-westerly course, and came near two low piles, which, I was told, bore the name of *Goher-Shah*, and was formerly an Atash-Kadeh (fire-altar). I was prevented from bestowing close examination on it by a stream

which separated me from it, and was difficult to cross on account of the swampy nature of the ground, covered with reeds. From thence we rode up a hillock, which had, till then, intercepted the sight of the plain with the ruins. It was meant probably as a surprise for me by my Arab Cicerone, for the view from this commanding spot over the whole country is truly beautiful. The hillock is advantageously situated for taking the different bearings of the ruins and the villages on the plain. Its summit is flattened, and presents a spacious arena. It may have been here that those immense piles of fuel were accumulated, and set on fire, which are mentioned in Appian's "History of the Mithridatic wars." It was a custom, he says, among the Persian kings, to offer such sacrifices at Pasargada. I did not, however, observe any calcined remains.

Opposite to this mound, in an easterly direction, rises the known Takhti Soliman, or Throne of Solomon, on the edge of a hill.

It would be superfluous to enter into any

lengthened description of this or the other monuments on the same plain, as former travellers have already amply treated of the subject. I shall confine myself, therefore, to a few remarks only, as I proceed. I feel much inclined to concur in Sir William Ouseley's opinion, that Takhti Soliman presents the throne of the ancient kings of Persia,* or at least the place where they used to sit in public; for this custom is perfectly in unison with the Oriental taste, even to the present day. I often witnessed the reigning Shah at the commencement of his reign, take his seat on an elevated mound in the plain of Teheran, with a simple awning over his head, and at times even without any, in order to be seen by the assembled multitude, and there hold his salam, or public audience, surrounded by his courtiers, with all the pomp and pageantry of Eastern magnificence. At that time the Deputies from the distant provinces of the

* See Sir W. Ouseley's "Travels in various Countries of the East," &c., vol. ii., page 435.

kingdom, and the Chiefs of the Nomadic tribes, with their numerous retinue, were assembled to pay homage to their new Sovereign; and it may have been the same with Cyrus, on the plains of Pasargada, when he received the oaths of fealty and allegiance from the different sections of the Persian race, as well as from the representatives of the other conquered nations.

The huge blocks of which the monument is constructed, are partly white, partly yellow, and of a rusty colour; but they have little or no polish, and none of the transparency of the Yezd and the Maragha (commonly called the Tabriz) marble. I learnt from my guide that quarries of a similar stone are found near Deh-bid, about nine farsangs to the north of Murgab, but none nearer. Having taken a front and a side sketch of this imposing structure, we moved to the next monument, which the country-people call the Zindan, or Dustagh-Khaneh (the prison), but which by antiquaries is denominated the fire-altar. It resembles the

building close to Nakshi-Rustam, on the plain of Persepolis, which goes by the name of Zerdusht-Khaneh, or abode of Zoroaster. It is a curious square edifice, built of the same sort of stone as Takhti Soliman; and the hollow niches in the walls justify, to a certain extent, the comparison an old traveller makes between the structure of this building and the pigeon-houses near Isfahan, when seen from a distance; although the latter have generally a circular form, while the Zindan-Khaneh is square. I was so much taken up with examining and sketching the ruins, that I did not notice how time stole on, till I was reminded that it was getting late, and that I had a ride of six miles to return to the village. I had not yet seen the principal relic of Murgab—the supposed tomb of Cyrus, a white monument, which was visible from a distance. I therefore determined to spend the night at the black tents of the Iliyats, which I could discern in the same direction. Before dismissing my guide for the night, I took him to

their encampment, that he might give me over into the charge of the Sheikh, or elder of the tribe, having learned that the Iliyats on this plain were not to be trusted. He had then to return to Meshedi-Murgab, and direct the postillion and my servant, who had remained behind with the travelling bags, to join me. As soon as we arrived at the encampment, we were surrounded by the Iliyats, whom curiosity had brought to the spot; and whilst they were listening to the reports of my guide about the strange Frengi, I placed the bridle of my horse into the hands of my Persian servant, and hastened to the mausoleum close by. I was aware, from accounts of previous travellers, that no man is allowed to enter the interior of the sepulchre, it being supposed by the natives to contain the remains of the mother of King Solomon (hence its name of Meshedi-Madre Soliman). I was apprehensive that, if followed by any of the Iliyats, I should be prevented from so doing, and I felt very desirous to view the

interior of this curious building. It is a square edifice, covered by a sloping roof, and resting on a pyramidal basis, formed of white marble. To enter at the door of the sepulchre, you are obliged to climb up seven high steps. I made all the haste I could, but as the building from its height and position is exposed to view, I had scarcely entered when loud cries assailed my ears. I judged it therefore prudent to retreat, after throwing a glance around the cell to convince myself that it was empty.* The women were clamorous in their vociferations, the men, with menacing gestures, threatened to pull me down the steps. I signified to them that they need not be in such a hurry, as I could descend without their help; and that they appeared to be very brave, probably because they saw I was alone. If I had profaned

* I was not aware at the time that Sir Robert Kerr Porter had visited the interior of the tomb of Cyrus by the permission of the two old women who were then the guardians at the shrine of Kabri-Madre-Soliman. See Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c., vol. i. page 500.

(as they deemed it) the sanctuary, they were themselves to blame, for not apprizing me sooner; as a Frengi and a stranger, I was not obliged to know their customs and modes of faith, but, now that I was informed they had a particular veneration for the spot, I would not enter more. This reasoning had some effect, for the mob became less vehement, and, wishing to draw their attention into another channel, I added that probably there was a mullah to guard the temple, and if so, it was his duty to prevent strangers from entering the shrine; observing that undoubtedly he never failed to claim his tithes from the community; whereas, when it was necessary to perform his duty, he was absent from his post. This charge against the mutaveli (the guardian of a sacred place), pleased the Iliyats; they acquiesced in the justness of the remark, and laughed at the expense of their white-turbaned mullah, who had been foremost in his gesticulations, but looked at present rather sheepish. Turning to the old Sheikh, my host, who had just arrived,

I told him that, if he wished to appear before me with *a white face*,* he should show his authority by dispersing the rabble, as they hindered me from sketching the exterior of the tomb. The old Arab made some bustle among the crowd, which gave way, but soon resumed their former station, prompted by curiosity to see the drawing. What chiefly attracted their notice, was the lead-pencil.†

The rest of the evening I spent pleasantly enough in the tent of the Sheikh. The Iliyats dropped in one by one, and took their seats around the canvass walls of the tent, while the women and children thronged at the entrance or peeped through the apertures. As we had already made friends at the foot of the tomb, they soon became very communicative, and although their manners were uncouth and their

* A Persian expression signifying *irreproachable*, whilst to appear with a black face means to have incurred the displeasure of one's superior.

† A leaden-pencil in the Russian language is *Karandash*, evidently of Turkish origin. *Kara* meaning *black*, and *dash* a *stone*.

minds, as it may well be supposed, perfectly uncultivated, they evinced a great fund of natural sense and ready wit. They recounted many anecdotes, discoursed on the tatooing of their women, a practice very prevalent in Persia, laughed very loud, inquired into the habits of Europeans, and sang some wild airs to the accompaniment of a flageolet. Their songs consisted chiefly of commemoration of the daring exploits of a Mamaseni robber, who had gained some celebrity among the mountaineers of Fars, but had been seized and imprisoned at Tabriz with his eldest son, where they are still detained. His name is Veli-Khan, and that of his son Bagher-Khan. I shall hereafter allude to these brigands, having subsequently passed through the country which had been the scene of their lawless pursuits, and visited their tribe, the Mamaseni. The old Sheikh, my host, pleased me the least of the party; he lacked that blunt frankness so often met with among these wild children of nature. There lurked something sinister and

false in his looks, as he sat wrapt in his felt coat, with his long beard, dyed orange, flowing down to his waist, which contrasted with the open countenance of his son, a man of thirty or thirty-five, who won my heart by the affection he showed to his little daughter, a baby of two years old, which he caressed and danced on his knees till she fell asleep.

The Persians in general care little for their daughters; and it would be reckoned almost an affront to wish them joy on the increase of their family if it prove a female child.

As the night was far advanced, I gave up the hope of seeing my attendants arrive from Meshedi-Murgab, and not wishing to avail myself of the dirty pillows of my Iliyat friends, I preferred laying my head on my saddle, the more so as I had my brace of pistols in a belt attached to it, such precautions not being superfluous in the country through which I was travelling. My only companion in the tent when the party broke up was a donkey, tied up in a corner and surrounded by a heap of

TWO INSCRIPTIONS

at the entrance of the Karavanserai

AT MESCHEDI MURGAB,

Close to the Tomb of Cyrus.

Cufic Inscription on the left side of the Gate.

Cufic Inscription on the Front of the Gate.

bags of all sizes piled one on the other. The night was cold, and I felt rather chilly under my light riding cloak.

At break of day the son of the Sheikh took me over the demolished karavanserai, around which the tents of the Arabs were pitched, while some families, with their cattle, occupied the cells of the building. It is supposed to have been the abode of the *magi* who were appointed to guard the tomb of Cyrus; but however that may be, the remains of the edifice appear of more recent architecture than the other ruins in the plain. What is preserved of the gateway is quite in the Saracenic style, and has even an Arab inscription, which I copied.* I next went on horseback to examine some ruins which I had not visited the preceding day, among others the pilaster, with the figure of an angel with four wings, of which Sir Rober Kerr Porter has given a faithful drawing. It is, however, by close examination only that one can trace the features on the

* See the two Cufic inscriptions.

marble pilaster. Some Arab Iliyats, who stood gazing on while I was trying to make out the figure, only became aware of its existence on the stone after they had seen the copy on paper. They owned they had never observed it before, although in the daily habit of frequenting the ruins.

In the meanwhile, my servant and the *chapar-shagird*, or post-boy, arrived with the horses, but before quitting the place, I once more went to bid farewell to the majestic white mausoleum.

This time the Iliyats willingly accompanied me. On ascending the steps and making a tour round the upper building, I found on one of the angles facing the south a dial cut in the stone, with Arab characters on it. The gnomon was wanting, but on sticking into the hole a small peg in its stead, I explained to the astonished Iliyats the use of the dial, and recommended them not to be too hasty in future against the Frengi, who far from wishing them any evil, are ever ready to teach them what is useful. I do

not know how far the lesson will be remembered; but my new friends seemed highly satisfied with this unexpected discovery. I must not here omit a much more important discovery which was made a few years ago by the Catholic missionary of the Propaganda, *Padre* Giovanni, of Isfahan, of some hieroglyphics among the marble slabs on the tomb of Cyrus.

As I became apprized of their existence only on my return to Teheran, I greatly regret having missed the opportunity of directing a particular attention to them whilst on the spot, because the rough sketch the good Padre kindly communicated to me of the hieroglyphics which he drew from memory, can give but an imperfect idea of their meaning. It would be, therefore, very desirable if any European traveller, whom chance or love of antiquarian pursuits might lead to Murgab, should favour the friends of ancient Persia and Egypt with a correct copy of them.

According to the Padre's description and the

drawing before me, it appears that the upper part of the stone has a long figure in a reclining posture with some ornaments on the head, amongst which is the head of a bird with a hooked beak. At the feet is another figure, standing erect with extended arms, long legs, and a dog's muzzle, or a hog's snout, with a long tube projecting from its mouth to the feet of the couching figure. May it not present the *Harami*, or *Siriosh*, the evil spirit (div) who, according to the cosmogony of the ancient Parsi comes to torment the dead? Behind it are two small figures, one quite unintelligible, and the other a little four-legged animal springing into the air.

On the other side of the same stone is a group of six figures in a row; the three first from left to right are quadrupeds, but it is difficult to guess of what species. The first is represented in a running attitude; over the second is a long serpent with its head just above the head of the animal, which is drawn only with its fore-feet; the third may possibly be a horse,

on which a thick clumsy figure is seated astride.

The fourth resembles somewhat the figure mentioned with a dog's muzzle, or hog's snout, and a robe descending to the ankles. It has a long pole in its hand held in a horizontal position. All the four figures have their faces turned to the right. It is impossible to say what the meaning of the fifth figure may be; perhaps the bust of a human being down to the waist. The sixth and last of the group is another quadruped, with the head turned towards the figure first described; but both head and legs are mutilated, whilst the tail is curled up over the back.

I am aware that from this imperfect delineation no satisfactory idea can be gleaned, and that the stone with these curious carvings will require a closer inspection and more accurate drawings, before any judgment can be pronounced on them. But if no decisive opinion can be formed on the subject, some speculation may be entertained, and, at all events,

the presence of hieroglyphics in the plain of Murgab gives an additional weight to the observations which have already been made with respect to the winged cherubim; namely, that an intimate connexion must have existed between the two countries of Persia and Egypt at some remote time of history; at all events since the reign of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, who made an expedition into the latter country.*

From the tomb of Cyrus we travelled over the plain in a southern direction for about a farsang, crossing the Murgab river halfway; we then commenced a steep ascent, and went along a belt of mountains which separates Murgab from the julgeh, or valley of *Kamin*. It bears the name of *Ak-Gadúk* (or white mountain pass), on account of the chalky nature of the hills, and is rather less than a farsang in breadth, pierced by two defiles, the one to

* The hieroglyphics just described are, in some respects, not unlike the symbolic figures that are found among the ancient ruined cities of America.

the right called *Tengi-Sivend*, through which the Murgab river finds a passage;* the other to the left, denominated the *Tengi-Gilelek*, very narrow and hardly practicable. We next descended into the valley of Kamin by a steep declivity, passed through the village of Halilek, or Kamin, a considerable place, and moved on in a S.S.W. direction.

The julgeh of Kamin, a farsang in breadth from north to south, and about three in length from east to west, is a well-cultivated valley, with pasture-ground, and several villages. The most considerable, after Halilek, appeared to be that of Kal'eh Begum, defended by strong mud walls. We ascended another belt of mountains, similar to the one we had just passed, and came down by the bed of a torrent, stumbling over rugged rocks, or sliding down the slippery stones, washed by the mountain streams, at the risk every moment of

* Mr. Morier calls it likewise the Rood Khaneh Sewund, or river of Siwend. (See his first "Journey in Persia," p. 142.)

breaking our necks. The rain had set in and we were drenched to the skin before we could gain our resting-place at the village of Seidan, situated near the foot of the hill in the Buluk, or district of Hafrek, after passing the village of *Poru*, at the southern entrance of the defile we had just crossed. A blazing fire, which I kept up during the whole night, served to dry the wet clothes, while a dish of hot pillau arrived very *àpropos*, I having made but a scanty breakfast on pomegranates.

The next morning turned out fine, and on rising my heart throbbed at the idea that I was going to behold the ruins of Persepolis, those splendid and mysterious remains of hoary antiquity.* It is a strange feature in the nature of man, that he either looks forward to the future, or clings to the past. All that

* We find in Mr. Rich, when speaking of Persepolis, an expression so exquisitely true to nature, that we cannot resist the temptation of repeating it. "I was," he says, "in the moment of enjoying what I had long wished for, *and what a delightful moment that is!*" ("Narrative of a Residence in Kurdistan," &c., vol. ii. p. 219.)

we possess of poetry in our hearts is consecrated to these two points; the present is the prose of life.

Our course lay in a western direction, through the plain of Hafrek, which is bounded on the north by the chain we had crossed the preceding day, and is the continuation of the Husein-Ruh, where the Nakshi-Rustam sculptures are found, and the hills Rahmed-Kuh on the south. The breadth of the plain does not exceed one farsang; it is well irrigated by canals, cut in various directions, and is well cultivated; the villages are, for the most part, situated on the skirts of the hills to the north and south of the valley.

After a ride of half a farsang, we crossed the Murgab river, which here assumes the name of Polvar, issuing from the defiles of Sivend, and joined by the stream coming from Poru. On the opposite side of the river is the Imam Zadeh Abdullah. A farsang more brought us to the village of Hajji-Abad, the residence of the chief of the district of

Merdasht, and the spot on which the ancient city of Istakhr once stood.

The distance from Hajji-Abad to the bas-reliefs of Nakshi-Rustam is one farsang; here I stopped to sketch the external face and visit the interior of the Royal tombs, hewn high in the rocks, before I took possession of my night's lodging at the village of Husein-Abad, half a farsang further to the west.

CHAPTER V.

Rock with bas-reliefs at Nakshi-Rustam.—The four Royal tombs.—Entrance into the first and third of these tombs, with descriptions of them.—Manner of ascent and descent.—The parents of King Darius killed in their attempt to visit one of the tombs.—Gebr explanation of the circlet often found in the hands of the Sasanian monarchs on the bas-reliefs of Persia.—Definition of the *Costi* by the Baron Silvestre de Sacy, according to the Zoroastrian faith.—Observations on a golden cup with figures on it, found in a tumulus near the Caspian Sea, in reference to the *Costi*, and the distinction between Iran and Aniran.—Night visit to the rock of Istakhr.—Disturb an Iliyat encampment.—Account of the rock and ruined fort on its summit.—Historical recollections.—Greek captives brought before Alexander on approaching Persepolis.—Description of the plain of Merdasht.—Its fertility.—Nakshi-Kejeb.—Formation of the rocks.—First impression on seeing the ruins of Takhti-Jemshid.

The rocks on which the bas-reliefs of Nakshi-Rustam are sculptured bear the name of Kuhi-Husein. They form the continuation of the ridge lying south of the valley of Kamin, and

serve for a northern boundary to the buluk or district of Hafrek.

These cliffs of white and yellowish marble are very rugged, with hardly any slope towards the plain. It is on the face of these rocks that the ancient generations of men have committed to posterity their feats of glory and the tokens of their knowledge in the arts and sciences. These sculptured rocks form the archives of time. Here the lover of antiquity comes to pay his homage to the relics of former ages; the philologist to decipher an unknown alphabet, and rescue from oblivion a language perhaps the primitive mode of speech in the world: here the artist repairs to study the rules of architecture in their pristine simplicity and grandeur, while the historian distinguishes the different dynasties, as they followed in order of time, by analyzing the various styles of the sculptured remains.

The more ancient sculptures are known by the name of the Royal tombs. They are seven in number, of which four are at Nakshi-

Rustam, and three at Takhti-Jemshid. The former are supposed to have contained the first four Persian monarchs after Cyrus, namely, Cambyses, Darius I., Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I. The remaining three kings of the Achemenid race are supposed to have been interred in the three other tombs in the rock of Rahmed, at Takhti-Jemshid.

The first of the tombs at Nakshi-Rustam, beginning from the north-west side of the mountain, has been visited by several travellers, presenting less danger in the ascent than the others; and Sir Robert Kerr Porter has given a detailed description of its interior. I likewise commenced with the more accessible of the four tombs. The kedkhuda of the village of Huseinabad, with whom I was to lodge, came to volunteer his services; and I found his presence of great assistance.

The above-mentioned tombs at Nakshi-Rustam have the form of a Greek cross, of which the lower part is cut much deeper into the rock than the upper. . From the lower

division my Cicerone climbed up the stone wall with such dexterity that it gave me confidence in the man. From the platform of the second division, where the wings of the cross extend horizontally, a door-way leads into the interior of the hill. When the kedkhuda had reached this, a rope was thrown to him from below by our party, one end of which he kept in his hand, while the other was tied round my waist; and in this way I was drawn up. The swing was not very agreeable, the height being considerable, measuring, according to Sir R. K. Porter, upwards of sixty feet.

Having reached the interior of the cave I observed three vaulted niches in its further end, having in each recess an excavation, which probably served for a coffin, covered by a stone convex lid. Large holes have been made into these lids from curiosity to see what was contained within. They are now empty, but there must have been a time when they were occupied, either by the mortal remains of kings or their treasures, perhaps

both, as we learn from ancient historians, that the riches amassed by the Persian sovereigns during their lifetime were at their death interred along with them. (See Strabo xv. 3.) The first spoiler of these tombs may have removed the coverlids without breaking them, and after emptying the contents, have replaced them over the untenanted cavities. It certainly required great manual force to displace them, but those who had the means at their command of breaking through the wall and thus entering the closed cavern, could surely achieve the more easy task of removing a stone lid from a coffin. I make this observation because it has been asserted, that since the apertures in the lids are too small to have allowed of the removal of a corpse, hence these empty stone reservoirs did not contain any, when they were originally closed.

I do not know how great the holes may have been at the time when Mr. Hercules, of whom Niebuhr makes mention,* visited the spot, or

* See Niebuhr's "Voyage en Arabie et en d'autres pays circonvoisins," tom. ii. p. 128.

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whether they have been widened at a later period, but I found one sufficiently large to admit of the passage of a man. In fact I contrived to enter the middle sarcophagus facing the door, and stretch myself down at the bottom of it. The sensation of lying in a strange grave, and that, too, of one of the proud monarchs of the East, whose dust was all that had remained on earth after 2,000 years, can be better imagined than described. I found nothing in the tomb save some white crust from the walls which crumbled at the touch. The spot is peculiarly well adapted for serious meditations, and the tomb at Nakshi-Rustam might have furnished an eloquent chapter to "Young's Night Thoughts on the Instability of Human Grandeur." All the nine excavations in the third cave are uncovered, with the stone coverlids broken and lying close by.

I wished to visit all the tombs in succession, but my guide assured me it would be a neck-breaking concern, and, therefore, not very desirable to be attempted. He would,

however, try, he said, to take me up to one of the remaining three. It was the third, if we reckon from the north-west, or the second, if taken from the south-eastern side of the hill, namely, the tomb with the cuneatic inscriptions, supposed to have contained the body of Darius Hystaspes.

We proceeded to it accordingly, and our guide gave us fresh proofs of his nimbleness and fearlessness in climbing the flat and perpendicular rocks. The same process of hauling up was repeated, only I took the precaution, before commencing my swing, of having another man hoisted up in order to assist the kedkhuda in holding the rope, lest I should slip from his hands, while suspended in the air, in the same manner as the unfortunate parents of King Darius, who having, according to Ctesias, the curiosity to visit the tomb prepared for their royal son during his life time, were killed on the spot.*

* The passage of Ctesias, given by Larcher, in his French version of "Herodotus," runs thus :—

I found the interior of the cave more spacious than that of the one I had just left. Neither the room nor any one of the niches is arched like the one above mentioned, as the accompanying sketch will show. Instead of there being only one excavation in each recess, there are three in every one of them, making nine stone excavations in this one cave. So striking a discrepancy between the interiors of the only two caves which have until now been examined at Nakshi-Rustam, shows, that although the external face of the rock presents the same sculptures, the inner part may vary in all the

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"Darius se fit faire un tombeau sur le mont à deux cimes. Lorsqu'on l'eut achevé, il lui prit envie de le voir: mais il en fut dissuadé par les Chaldéens, et par son père et par sa mère. Quant à ceux-ci, ils voulurent contenter leur curiosité. Il leur en couta la vie. Les prétres qui les guindaient au haut de la montagne, ayant apperçu des serpens en furent si effrayés, qu'ils lachèrent les cordes. Le Prince et la Princesse se tuèrent en tombant. Cet accident causa beaucoup de chagrin à Darius. Il fit couper la tête aux quarante personnes chargées de guinder au haut de la montagne son père et sa mère." (See "Histoire d'Herodote," by Larcher, tom. vi., page 225.)

four; and it becomes the more desirable that the two remaining tombs should be explored, if possible, as the facts just adduced prove that the analogy Sir Robert Kerr Porter wished to establish between them can no longer stand good.* The cavities are open, and contain nothing more than the fragments of the cover-lids, parts of which lie on the surface of these recesses.

On the western extremity of the cave are two high steps cut in the rocks, and on the side, forming the continuation of the wall with the three recesses, is a shallow niche close to the ceiling. Between this niche and the steps is a fissure in the rock from the ceiling to the floor, where it presents a hollow aperture, descending into the bowels of the mountain. It is not artificial, and could never have served the purpose of a communication from below.

* Sir R. K. Porter says :—"These four sepulchres differ in no way exteriorly : hence we may suppose they vary as little within, and the description of one may generally describe them all." (See his "Travels," vol. i., page 516.)

My guide, who was not backward in offering his conjectures, maintained that this must have been the corner for the priest appointed to read prayers for the repose of the souls of the deceased inmates. The steps served him for a seat, whilst the lamp may have been placed in the niche close by. But the question naturally arises, if the entrances of the tombs were closed hermetically, as it appears they were, how could any living being have been left in these abodes of death? I must here plead guilty to not having ascertained whether any holes were visible to receive the pivots of the blocks of stone, of which the door consisted, similar to those Porter had observed in the smaller tomb.

At this great height the wind was very strong, and, as the space between the entry and the flat perpendicular rock below is very narrow, I was obliged to keep close to the wall in going in and coming out, until I could reach the small platform on the eastern side, forming one of the horizontal wings of the cross.

In the first tomb I had had some food for the soul, here I required some for the body, and took my luncheon, consisting of cold rice-pillau, on the platform, while my obliging kedkhuda pointed out to me the position of the different *bulúks*, or districts in the plain of Persepolis.

Below our feet was the buluk of Hafrek, extending from east to west. To the south extended the buluk of Merdasht; further on to south-east that of Kurbal (Kulbar).

To the S.S.W. the buluk of Zarghan on the way to Shiraz, with the bridge of *Puli-Khan* in the same direction, near the junction of the Polvar and the Kúm-Firúz rivers.

The protruding hill of Nakshi-Rustam prevented us from seeing the remaining two districts; namely, Ramjird to the west, and Moïn to the north-west.

The descent was more difficult than the ascent had been. With my Persian servant we were lowered down in the same manner as we had been hoisted up, by means of a rope twisted round our bodies, with the end com-

mitted to the charge of the person who stood on the upper platform; but as no one could keep the rope for the kedkhuda who remained there the last, and there were no means of fastening it at the top, he was obliged to come down by himself, clinging in his descent to the vertical rock, which offered very few rough places on which he could lay hold with his hands or fix his feet. It was a nervous spectacle to look upon the man as it were hanging in the air, full seventy feet from the ground, just touching the edge of the rock with his tip-toes, and cautiously examining and feeling every trifling projection of the mountain, to ascertain if it would afford any support to his weight. The muscles of his bare arms and legs were completely contracted from the exertion, and the least cramp would have brought him headlong down. We stood gazing from the lower platform, still at a considerable distance from the ground, in breathless anxiety, offering prayers for his safe descent. I reproached myself for having urged him to this rash enterprize, and if a fatal accident had

befallen him it would have weighed heavily on my conscience through life. I should never have forgiven myself for having sacrificed a human being to the mere gratification of a vain curiosity after all. But God is ever watchful and merciful to his creatures. At length we had the satisfaction of seeing the daring climber join us in safety amid the loud *Mashallah*, and *Burikallah* (*God be praised!* and *bravo!*) of the party, who had just before been ejaculating, Yah Allah, Yah Ali (God help! Ali help!).

Concerning the bas-reliefs of the Sasanian epoch, I shall venture to make one observation only, as they have been already often described. It is in respect to the plate No. XXIII. in Sir R. K. Porter's travels.

The subject of this bas-relief, observes the author, is two men on horseback meeting each other, the one bestowing, the other receiving a circlet, the badge of sovereignty. (See vol. I. p. 549.) On showing one day to an intelligent Gebr acquaintance of mine from Yezd a drawing of an altar I had found sculptured on a

rock in the mountains near Behbehan, at Tengi Saúlek (and of which I shall speak hereafter), having a fillet tied round it in a knot with the two ends hanging down, I learned that there exist similar Parsi temples at Yezd to the present day. On this occasion my Parsi friend favoured me with some particulars on the subject.

All Gebrs are obliged to wear a sort of sash or cord round their waist, under their clothes. It forms the distinctive sign of their being the followers of Zoroaster, as the cross is worn by the Roman Catholics and Greeks, to show that they are the disciples of Christ. Those Gebrs who renounce their religion to embrace Muhammedanism, tear asunder the sacred cord.

It is by this sign that Hafed makes himself known as a Gebr to the affrighted Arab maid, in Moore's poem of the Fire-worshippers:—

"'Hold! hold!—thy words are death!'
The stranger cried, as wide he flung

His mantle back, and show'd beneath
The Gebr belt that round him hung."*

It is the *Kosti*,† or cincture of the Zend-Avesta,‡ terminated by two small tails at each end denoting the four seasons; three knots on each tail present in the aggregate the twelve months of the year. The cord is twisted of seventy-two threads, such being the number,

* "Lalla-Rookh," see page 191.

† Mr. Thomas Moore, in a note to the foregoing passage of his poem, calls the *Kosti*, *Cushee*. He says,—"They (the Gebrs) lay so much stress on their *Cushee*, or girdle, as not to dare to be an instant without it." I mention this circumstance, because the word *Cushee*, used by the Parsi of India, § bears some resemblance to *Cúshak*, the Russian word for girdle, and which, by the way, is of pure Mogol origin. This is, therefore, water to Dr. Westergaard's mill, who is occupied in establishing the common origin of the Mogol and Sanscrit languages, as that of the latter with the *Zend* is placed, I believe, beyond a doubt. The success of his endeavours will settle the question whether Thibet was the cradle of the human race, after the Deluge.

‡ See "Zenda-Avesta," l. iii.

§ See Grose's "Voyage to the East Indies," vol. i., p. 223.

according to Gebr interpretation, of the known kingdoms of the world at the time of Husheng, their first legislator. Herodotus assigns the same number to the nations under the sway of the Persian monarchs; and it is a no less curious circumstance, that the same number of columns should once have supported the throne of Jemschid at Persepolis; and that the religious book of the Parsi, called Yzeschne, or Yaçna, should likewise have been divided into seventy-two chapters.

The Mobed, or High-Priest, bestows this cord on every Gebr boy at the age of seven years (fifteen years according to the Sadder).

The two priests, on approaching the fire-altar, observe the following ceremonial:—The arm of one priest must be linked with the arm of the other by this cord, to show that they act in harmony, else their prayers would not be accepted.

To render an oath binding between two contracting parties, the Gebrs form a circlet of this cord or tape, which each holds, standing

opposite one to the other, and allowing the ends of the *kosti* to flow downwards.

May we not explain by this custom, still in use among the surviving followers of Zoroaster's creed, the symbolic action of the figures which occur on the bas-reliefs of Takhti-Rustam, Nakshi-Rejeb, and Nakshi-Rustam, holding the circlet, from which two bandelets are seen flowing downwards? It is the ratification of a treaty of peace between two independent sovereigns, in conformity with the Gebr fashion of rendering an oath binding.

We find a very satisfactory account of the *Kosti* in Silvestre de Sacy's "Memoire sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse," p. 184, which runs thus:—

"Le texte," says this author, "est tiré de la dixième porte du chapitre du Sadder. L'auteur qui recommande aux disciples de Zoroastre, l'usage du *Kosti*. C'est une ceinture que tout Parse, parvenu à l'age de quinze ans, doit porter et qu'il doit mettre sur lui chaque jour au moment de son lever. Le Kosti met en fuite

les demons; il est le signe de l'union des fidèles. Toutes les bonnes œuvres de celui qui n'en est point ceint, deviennent nulles et sans aucun mérite aux yeux de la loi. Le Parse doit faire quatre nœuds au Kosti; par le premier il confesse l'unité de Dieu, par le second il reconnait la vérité de la religion de Zoroastre; la troisième est un témoignage qu'il rend à la divinité de sa mission, et à sa qualité de prophète; enfin par la quatrième il atteste la ferme resolution qu'il a prise de faire le bien, de vouloir le bien, de penser le bien, et de s'éloigner du mal. Les anges même ont apparu au Roi Menotchehr et a Zoroastre ceints du Kosti. Après ces details, l'auteur ajoute,—Si tu ne connais pas *Iran* et *Aniran*, je vais t'apprendre un signe auguel tu le reconnaitras. *Aniran* n'a point ceint le *Kosti*, comme il convient de le faire, mais *Iran* s'en est ceint, et l'a ôté de dessus son visage, comme les hommes de bien, les saints, les hommes parfaits dans la religion; il a ceint le Kosti de la manière que prescrit la doctrine veritable."

From the above we may infer, that since the external sign by which *Iran* was to be recognised, consisted in its having removed the *kosti* from the *forehead*, *Aniran* must, therefore, have retained the custom of wearing it on the head.

In investigating the monuments of antiquity we ought not to overlook this distinction, as it is of some importance, for by the mode in which the *kosti* was worn, we may judge whether the figure we may happen to be examining, is to be ranged among the followers of Ormuzd, or whether it belongs to a nation that was inimical to the creed of Zoroaster. Acting up to this principle, we feel authorized to say, that the figure of the man embossed on a goblet (which forms one of the objects lately discovered in a tumulus to the south-east of the Caspian Sea*), and wearing the

* A detailed account of this discovery was communicated by the author to the Society of Antiquaries of London, and inserted in the "Archæologia," volume xxx. pp. 248—255.

kosti on the forehead, must belong to *Aniran* and not to *Iran*.

It is uncertain whether the sling, which, according to Q. Curtius,* adorned the head of the *Mardi*, and served them likewise for a weapon, was the kosti, or not. If we incline to the affirmative, we may suppose that these wild highlanders, living, as described by the historian, in caves and inaccessible mountains, had disdained to embrace the religious tenets preached by Zerdusht, and therefore retained the distinctive feature of *Aniran*, namely, the kosti on their foreheads.

Notwithstanding my impatience to behold the ruins of Persepolis, I postponed my visit, until I had seen the other interesting places in the neighbourhood, reserving the majestic Takhti-Jemshid "pour la bonne bouche." Among other excursions, I had in view to perform a trip to the hill of *Istakhr*, which reared its brow at a distance in a north-western

* See Q. Curtius's "History of Alexander," L. v. c. vii.

direction from Persepolis, in the hope that I might contemplate from its summit the rays of the rising sun, as they shot through the clustered pilasters and broken pillars of Takhti-Jemshid. Independently of the splendid sight I anticipated to behold, the height and situation of the isolated rock of Istakhr were such, that I fancied I should be on one of those favoured spots to which the zealous followers of Zoroaster resorted every morning, in order to catch the first glimpses of the returning luminary, on which they looked as the pure, bright symbol of the Deity.

As I had a ride of two farsangs to make, I left Husein-Abad at three o'clock in the morning, while it was still perfectly dark, and took the kedhuda of the place for my guide. Having crossed the plain in a north-western direction, we touched at the tents of some Amaleh Iliyats, to warm our benumbed limbs, the night being piercingly cold, before we resumed our journey. With the exception of one or two tents, in which the shepherds kept watch, the rest of

the encampment was wrapt in sleep, but the loud and incessant barking of the dogs on our arrival soon roused the whole community. Lights were kindled; lengthened shadows were seen moving to and fro; men, women, and children, all equally curious, kept peeping through the apertures of their tents; others came out to ascertain the cause of all this noise, and must have thought us half crazy to travel at such a time of night, and disturb their slumbers.

It was some time before they could be made to believe that I was seriously intent on ascending the mountain, as they could not understand for what earthly purpose it could be; at length, by coaxing and promises of remuneration, some Iliyats consented to show us the way up the hill.

This wandering tribe belongs to a Lur stem, and was transplanted into Fars by Aga-Muhammed-Khan, the uncle of the late Fet'h-Ali-Shah, from Lúristán Kuchuk. After his death, many returned to their primitive en-

campments in the Zagros chain, but some have remained behind.

The ascent was steep and difficult, and after having proceeded half way on horseback, the path became so narrow and precipitous, that we were obliged to dismount, leave our horses behind, and proceed to climb up on foot. Luckily the dawn of day overtook us, and warned us to avoid many a chasm which yawned beneath our feet. We were so long toiling up the devious path, that the sun was high in the heavens before we could attain the summit of the hill, and my desire of seeing it rise above the ruins of Persepolis was thus thwarted. Nor could I well distinguish the latter in the distance.

Notwithstanding the disappointment, I did not regret the trip I had undertaken, as it afforded me an opportunity of examining this curious rock, and acquiring a correcter notion of the country, than I could have obtained from the plain below.

Istakhr can only be ascended by one path,

like Kal'eh-Sefid, in the country of the Mamaseni, from the north-eastern side; everywhere else it is so steep, and in many places so nearly vertical, that an involuntary shudder comes over one, on looking down into the plain. A stone wall, now partly overthrown, formerly ran across the path, and defended the approach to the summit. On arriving at the top, I found a dilapidated tower, with heaps of broken bricks, tiles, pottery, and glass strewed about, as likewise a few ruined habitations, denoting that this had in former times been the inhabited part of the hill. Amongst the rubbish, and nearly buried underground, I dug out a curiously-wrought vessel of black stone. It has an oval form, tapering at one end, with an aperture at the other, where it has suffered some injury. The interior is hollow, while the external part bears carved ornaments in relief, resembles in shape a scooped-out cocoa-nut, and is quite as large. It bears likewise some resemblance to the large oval ornaments suspended on a chain, and hanging down the sides of the horses in

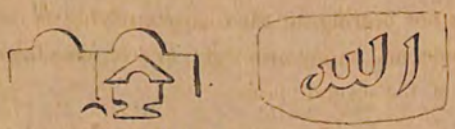
the sculptured equestrian figures at Nakshi-Rustam, the use of which it is difficult to divine.*

Further in the interior of the hill, where a declivity exists towards the east, I found an immense reservoir for water, divided into three compartments; the banks are lined with stone, and the floor paved. The breadth is unequal, but it measures 205 paces in length. The melting snow of winter, and the rains at other seasons of the year accumulate in this and another reservoir on the south side; this was the only means the inhabitants had of procuring water at so great an elevation, the hill possessing no springs. It has, however, several oak trees, if I recollect right, and the crags and caves abound with wild goats and rams.

* Sir William Ouseley is of opinion these ornaments may represent vessels containing incense. See his "Travels."

In Sir Robert Kerr Porter's Sketches, they are represented as tassels, which appears the most natural. See his "Travels," vol. i. p. 550.

Close to the second reservoir I found the following inscription cut in the rock—



The fort of Istakhr seems to have served at times the purpose of a state-prison. We find in Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, that "Zenghi, the son of Saad Attabeg, of Fars, was sent prisoner to the hill-fort of Istakhr, from which he was not released till the return of Sultan-Jelal-a-din (Sultan Mahmud of Khaurizm) from Scind to Irak." (See chap. xi. p. 387, on the Atabegs of Fars.)

At a later period Uzzun Hasan confined in the same fort of Istakhr, Sultan Ali Ibrahim Mirza, and Sultan Shah Ismail, sons of Heyder (Sefevi), where they remained four years. (Idem, chap. xiv. p. 499.)

This isolated hill of Istakhr is the key of the

pass which opens into the plain of Persepolis from the hilly country of Ardekan.*

* I took advantage of the elevated spot on which I stood to mark a few bearings of the compass, relying on the words of my guide, and on my own sight, to determine the relative distances of the several places.

Bearings taken from the south side of Kúhi-Istakhr.

The bridge of Puli-Khan and direction of the river Kúm-Firúz, due south; distance of the former, between three and four farsangs. To the west of the Kúm-Firúz extends the district of *Ramjird*, bounded to the west by a mountainous country, forming the buluk of *Baiza*. To the east of the same river is the district of *Hafrek*. Direction of the hill at Nakshi-Rustam, E. by E.S.E., distant about two farsangs.

Bearings taken from the north-east side of the hill of Istakhr.

The hill of Kuhi-Shahrek, N.W. by W.N.W., two farsangs distant. The Kúm-Firúz flows from the same direction. It has its source in the snowy range of Ardekan, near a place called *Runje-Gambil*, and is the Araxes, or Cyrus of the ancients, which Alexander had to cross before he reached Persepolis. It is joined in the plain by the river Moïn, coming from the village of the same name in a N.N.W. direction. The summer road from Isfahan to Shiraz passes through Moïn.

The extremity of the mountain ridge of Husein-Kúh, a continuation of the Nakshi-Rustam hills, lies to the north-

Not far from Kúhi-Istakhr, in a south-eastern direction, is another hill which cannot be ascended on account of its steepness; it is barren, and has a very grotesque appearance.

At the distance of two farsangs to the west, inclining to north, is a third isolated hill, on the summit of which some ruins are seen, said to have been an ancient fort, but time would not allow of my visiting the spot, much to my regret, as hitherto no traveller appears to have described it. It bears the name of Kuhi-Shahrek.

I was standing on classical ground. The Kúm-Firúz river, which laves the foot of the rock, is the Araxes of the ancients; the snowy Ardekan mountains, from which it flows, are the same with those whose crest presented so

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west. The villages *Germ-abád* (one farsang), and Kazim-abad (one and a-half farsangs distant) are to E.N.E. by E.

The bridge of *Púli-no* over the Kúm-Firúz is situated to the south-east, at no great distance from Kuhi-Istakhr.

The bridge Alexander the Great had to throw over the Araxes, before he could enter on the plain of Persepolis, was probably somewhere in the same neighbourhood.

formidable a barrier to Alexander's progress, and by whose slopes he descended into Persia. It was likewise, in all probability, on the plain of Moïn that he threw a bridge over the Araxes, which he had to cross before he could enter on the plain of Persepolis, and we may ascribe, perhaps, to the same vicinity, the pathetic scene which took place between him and some Greek captives, who came out to meet him on his approach to the city.

"At his (Alexander's) near approach to the city," says his historian, "his eyes were shocked with a spectacle which has few parallels in history. It was a procession of Greek captives, amounting almost to 4,000, whom the Persians had deplorably mutilated. Some had their feet cut off; others had been deprived of their hands and ears; and all their bodies were branded with barbarous characters. Thus they had been reserved for the diversion of their inhuman enemies, who, seeing themselves on the eve of foreign subjection, did not oppose their desire to go out and meet Alexander.

They resembled uncouth images, distinguishable only as men by their noise. They excited more tears than they shed. In a calamity which capriciously marked every individual, it might be seen at once that they all shared; but their punishment had been so diversified, that it was impossible to pronounce who was most miserable. When they cried out that Jupiter, the avenger of Greece, had at last awoke, all the auditors sympathised in their sufferings as their own. The King, having dried his tears, said to them, 'Resume courage, you shall again see your native land, and your wives.' Then Alexander entrenched his camp two stadia from the city." *

On our way back, my communicative and well-informed kedkhuda entertained me with some agricultural information, in respect to the cultivation of the soil about Persepolis.

The extensive and rich plains, to which the name of Merdasht is improperly given, is divided into several buluks, of which Merdasht forms

* See Q. Curtius, book v., chap. v.

only a part; namely, the buluk nearest the ruins of Persepolis, or Takhti-Jemshid. The space between the rivers Polvar (the Murgab) and Kum-Firuz, or, as the ancient geographers would have termed it, between the Medus and the Araxes, forms the buluk of Hafrek. We have mentioned already that to the west of Kum-Firuz, or on its right bank, lies the buluk of Ramgird, while between its left banks in its upper course, and the right banks of the Moïn river, is the buluk of Moïn. From the ruins of the city of Istakhr (lying between the sculptured rocks at Nakshi-Rustam, and which must not be confounded with the rock of Istakhr), commences the buluk of Merdasht, which extends along the left banks of the Polvar river, until its junction with the Kum-Firuz at Puli-Khan.

To the south, Merdasht is bounded by the latter river, down to Bend-Amir, from whence a line drawn towards the ruins of Takhti-Jemshid, or the extremity of Kúh-Rahmd, forms its eastern boundary. The buluk of

Kurbal, or, as the peasants commonly pronounce it, Kulbar, extends to the east of Merdasht, lying between the Kúhi-Rahmed and the lower course of the Kúm-Firuz, which, after its junction with the Polvar, assumes the name of Bend-Amir.

Finding that my loquacious friend was better acquainted with the buluks of Hafrek and Merdasht than with the other three, I directed my questions more particularly to what concerned the former two.

The buluk of Hafrek has thirty villages, that of Merdasht twenty. The annual grain sown in both amounts to twelve thousand harvars, a harvar being equal in weight to what an ass can carry. Some fields are subjected to irrigation—others left to be supplied by rains alone. The production from fields watered by artificial means is divided into three portions; one-third of which is paid to the Crown, the other to the landowner, and the remaining third to the tenant. From lands belonging to the State called Shahi two thirds are abstracted from the

crops for the benefit of the Divan, and one-third for the use of the tenant.

From fields called *Deimi*, where no irrigation is used, and the crop depends on the dry or wet season, the Divan receives only one-fifth of the harvest. The usual return of barley and wheat is from ten to fifteen fold; in fields better watered and attended to, it rises from twenty to twenty-five.

About the Novrûz, in the beginning of spring the villagers assemble, and proceed to clear the canals by means of which the waters of the Polvar river are drawn into their fields. They next elect a Mirab (confirmed by the Divan—water being Crown property) whose duty consists in distributing equitably the portion of water required for every field, according to its extent. From the beginning of spring up to harvest time, the fields require to be watered every week. The same process is necessary for fields on which rice is sown, but those on which rice is planted must be inundated. The latter fields are more productive, and yield sixty and

eighty-fold, while the return of the former is only twenty-fold.

The plains of Merdasht and Hafrek consist principally of a clayey soil, and are abundantly supplied with water. The peasantry make use here of three different sorts of wheat, and two of barley, the black and the white. Corn springs up better in a black vegetable soil, while rice, peas, and beans prosper in the clayey ground.

In the afternoon, having sent my baggage and servant on before, to secure a lodging at Kenore, the nearest village to the ruins of Persepolis, I rode across the country with my native guide to examine the sculptures of Nakshi-Kejeb, in the mountains of Rahmed. We forded the Polvar, and entered the buluk Merdasht. Not far from the left bank of the river is an elevated stone platform, which must have been once the basis of a spacious square building. The stones have been hewn from the adjacent rock, which near Nakshi-Kejeb presents a curious configuration. I have

generally observed the granite strata lying parallel to each other, and inclined to the earth at a certain angle. Here the rock presents an undulating appearance, and the curve seems to have been produced by some hidden power from below, which has raised the strata from the centre, allowing the sides to fall off in a slope. Perhaps the following sketch, drawn from memory, will best explain what I mean:

The different layers of the rock in being thus forcibly raised have given way and split. This circumstance must have considerably facilitated the task of the workmen employed in the construction of Persepolis, as they could choose the size of the blocks they required in the natural quarries of the mountain without being obliged to hew them out of the solid rock, and

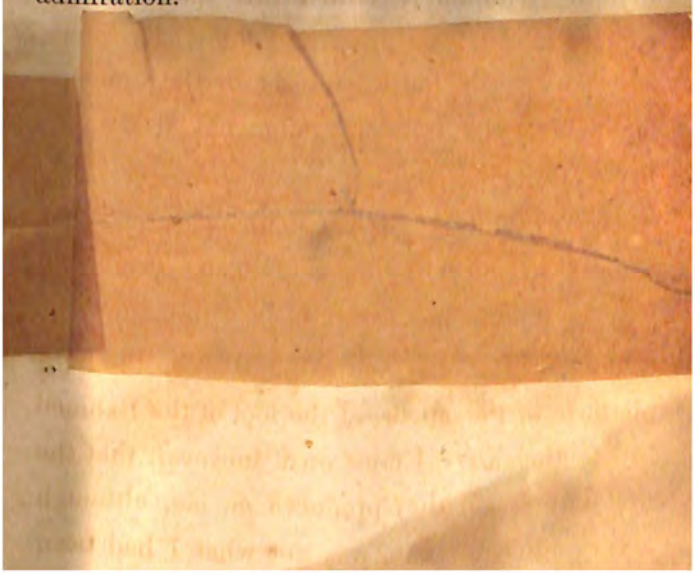
had only to give them the necessary shape and polish.

The sculptures of Nakshi-Kejeb are in a recess of the rock, half way between Nakshi-Rustam, and Takhti-Jemshid. They consist of three bas-reliefs, one in front of the entry, the two others to the right and left of it. They are of the Sasanian epoch, and have been frequently described.

The indefatigable French artist, M. Eugene Flandin, who lately visited this spot, has discovered a long inscription in Pehlevi characters, which had been hid from sight by the branches and foliage of a tree protruding out of a fissure in the rock.

It was getting dusk when we turned our steps towards the village of Kenore, and, in passing the fields, I caught a glimpse of the colonnade and the granite pilasters on the high platform of Persepolis, at the foot of the Rahmed hill to the east. I must own, however, that the first impression they produced on me, although a very agreeable one, was not what I had been

led to expect. I fancied I should have been overwhelmed by the imposing grandeur of the massive buildings. But then, I must admit, I saw the ruins to their disadvantage at a certain distance and in the dusk of the evening. The next day, on a nearer inspection, I was fully reconciled to the previous idea I had formed of Persepolis, and gratified even beyond my most sanguine expectations. The longer I gazed on the ruins the more I found cause for admiration.



CHAPTER VI.

Ruins of Takhti-Jemshid or Persepolis.—Progress of destruction observable in the gradual fall of the pillars.—Buildings on the different platforms.—Discovery of the statue of a bull.—Accumulation of the soil on the platform.—Subterraneous passages.—Remarks on the late Mr. Beckford, the author of "Vathek."—Lord Byron's opinion on that book.—Adventures of the Caliph Vathek in the subterranean halls of Istakhr.—Subterraneous corridors at Persepolis, now occupied by porcupines.—The royal tombs in Mount Rahmed.—Feruers, or guardian angels of the old Gebrs.—Figure of the moon among the bas-reliefs.—Conjectures on it.—Interior of the first and second tomb.—General reflections on the monuments of Persepolis.

On the 9th January, as soon as I had finished my early breakfast, we rode off to the ruins, distant rather less than half a farsang from the village of Kenore. The nearer we approached the more majestic the relics rose before us, till we arrived at the foot of the staircase leading to the platform on which Persepolis stands.

An indescribable feeling of awe prompted me to get off my horse in order to ascend the steps on foot, but my guide stopped me with the prosaic observation that I should have sufficient walking, and that I had, therefore, much better remain in my saddle, as the stairs were amply broad and sloping enough for horses to ascend with ease. This staircase consists of a double flight of steps of black marble, and so broad that eight or ten horsemen can advance abreast. The platform to which the staircase leads is an oblong square, measuring 1,200 feet from north to south, and 1,690 feet from east to west, according to Chardin. It faces the plain of Merdasht, on the west, and is flanked by the hill of Rahmed on the east.

On reaching the platform we came to an immense portal, formed of huge blocks of granite or marble, with two gigantic figures of bulls in front, and two sphinxes on the opposite side, with two high columns between.

I remember when I visited for the first time

the splendid gallery of paintings of the Imperial Hermitage, in the Winter Palace of St. Petersburgh, my eyes rolled from wall to wall as I moved mechanically on from one hall to the other in silent rapture, at intervals only uttering some short exclamation of surprise and admiration at the magnificent productions of the great masters; but when I had left the gallery I could not recollect one single painting in particular out of the whole collection I had just been admiring. The impression Persepolis produced on me was very similar to this. I moved from one group of ruins to another like one under the influence of wine; my head felt quite giddy. Not that each separate monument was a master-piece by itself, it was the *tout ensemble* which kept the mind and the imagination in a continual state of excitement. But these feelings, however delicious and grateful they might be to oneself, were yet so vague, so undefined, so confused even, that it would be impossible to bring them into any tangible form, for words are inadequate to give them expression.

I can only point out the elements which served to give birth to those feelings. It was the originality of the scene before me, so totally different from everything one is daily accustomed to meet; the chaste simplicity of the monuments, beautifully harmonizing with their gigantic proportions; the Titanic rocks of marble and granite, evidently piled up with the presumptuous thought of struggling with Time, as to who should have the mastery; and although nearly vanquished by the latter, the lofty columns still rearing their proud heads toward the skies. The mystery attached to the origin and design of Persepolis; the isolated position it now occupies; the awful silence that breathes around it; the generations of men and empires which have rolled over its head, and sunk into oblivion; the events it has witnessed; the vicissitudes undergone; the noise and bustle of which once it must have been the centre, compared with the unearthly quiet which at present pervades its clustered pillars and pilasters, were all fit subjects for meditation, and

capable of raising the soul above its ordinary level of indifference and apathy. Nor could the eye, while gazing on these memorials of past grandeur, help casting a look upward to the Throne of Omnipotence, where all was immutable and eternal. The pure, bright sky of the East, which had smiled upon the birth of Persepolis, and witnessed its pristine glory, was the same which now looked down on its fallen grandeur,—still pure, bright, and serene as the Spirit which dwells there!

But if it be difficult to give an adequate idea of the varied impressions these ruins give rise to, it will be not less impracticable to enter into a minute description of all the details; for, to do justice to Persepolis, it would require weeks, nay months, perhaps years, of diligent study and close examination; added to which, an ample store of previous information, relating to the history, religion, customs and manners, arts and sciences, of the ancients, would be necessary before one could venture to pass a judgment on the precious antiquities before us.

My superficial knowledge of these matters, and the few days I could bestow on Persepolis, are sufficient drawbacks to deter me from entering the lists; and if, in giving a summary sketch of the leading features of this splendid piece of antiquity as we advance, I venture to offer some observations, it is with the greatest diffidence that I do so.

Another flight of stairs, the walls of which are full of bas-reliefs, leads to the second platform, on which the principal edifices of Persepolis once rose. Here only thirteen columns are found standing erect out of the seventy-two of which the splendid temple was originally composed. It would be, perhaps, curious to trace the progress of the work of destruction as it gradually has proceeded in the Palace of Jemshid. Pietro de la Valle found, in 1621, twenty-five columns standing. When Mandelso visited these ruins in 1638, there were only nineteen; in the days of Kœmpfer (1696) and Niebuhr (1765), the number was reduced to seventeen; and, in 1811, Sir W. Ouseley met only with

fifteen columns, excluding the two on the lower platform. The pedestals of a great number are remaining, while the lines of the colonnade evidently show where the rest had been. These columns are fluted, and surmounted by capitals of various styles of architecture.

One of these capitals, nearly detached from the pillar, probably by an earthquake, and menacing every instant to fall down, represents the head, chest, and bent legs of a bull, which figure is united at the back to a corresponding bust of a similar animal. This appears to have been the favourite ornament of the Persepolitan order, for we find it reproduced on the bas-reliefs of the Royal tombs of Takhti-Jemshid and Nakshi-Rustam, as well as among the ruins of the town of Istakhr in the plain.

Proceeding still in a southern direction, I passed an elevated mound of earth, which Sir R. Kerr Porter supposes may represent that part of the edifice which was burnt by the Macedonian madman,* and to which the great Zend

* "Porter's Travels," &c., vol. i., page 646.

scholar, Lassen, assigns the name of the banquet-hall, or hall of reception. *

In a southern and eastern direction are numerous pilasters, formed into different compartments, with fluted architraves. The walls are covered with Cuneatic inscriptions and bas-reliefs, representing human figures, animals, &c., the number of which, according to some travellers, exceeds thirteen hundred.

A thick crust of earth, which has been accumulating for ages, now covers the platforms of Takhti-Jemshid, and hides probably many an interesting relic of antiquity. In confirmation of this opinion, I may state, that recently two French artists, MM. Flandin and Coste, have brought to light a black marble statue of a bull, which, although mutilated, is still a beautiful specimen of ancient Persian sculpture in that style, and, I believe, the first instance of a similar statue discovered in Persia, with the exception of that of Shapúr, in the mountains of

* "Allgemeine Encyclopedie," vol. xvii., page 356, art. Persepolis.

Kazerún. The workmanship of the latter statue cannot be compared, however, to the finished style of the bull at Persepolis. It certainly would be a Herculean task to clear away the accumulated soil heaped on the mansions of Jemshid, but the enterprise is not beyond the reach of possibility; and Persepolis disencumbered of the dust of more than two thousand years, would, in its revived state, offer a no less gratifying sight for the antiquary than the Roman cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. In the surface of the platform are apertures leading down into subterraneous passages. At the mere mention of the subterranean passages of Takhti-Jemshid every imagination is involuntarily carried away to the [illegible] in Vathek; and who has not read "Vathek!" Yes, independently of the attraction, which the antiquity, and plastic beauty of Persepolis afford to the poet and the lover of antiquarian research, Istakhr (which is another name for Persepolis) has gained a peculiar charm in the eyes of the general reader from

the mysterious halo which has been thrown around it since the appearance of the fantastic, yet fascinating little work, entitled "The History of the Caliph Vathek," a book which, I understand, has obtained in this country a deserved popularity. It was Istakhr that could alone satisfy the unbounded curiosity, and slake the thirst for novelty, of the Commander of the Faithful. In the subterranean mansions of Istakhr was placed the region of wonders; there he was to receive the diadem of Gian-ben-Gian, the talisman of Soliman, and the treasures of the pre-Adamite sultans.

The author of this witty tale has the happy talent of imparting to his reader nearly the same degree of panting curiosity which impels his hero and heroine on to destruction; as he leads Vathek from the banks of the Tigris to those of Bend-Amir, until he is ushered into the presence of Eblis, and meets, in company with his mistress, with his final doom.

"Vathek," says Lord Byron, "was one of the tales I had a very early admiration of—

for correctness of costume, beauty of description, and power of imagination, it far surpasses all European imitations, and bears such marks of originality, that those who have visited the East will find some difficulty in believing it to be more than a translation. As an eastern tale, even Rasselas must bow before it; his 'Happy Valley' will not bear a comparison with the Hall of Eblis."

After such an encomium coming from such a quarter, we may, without hesitation, introduce here some lengthy extracts from the account of Vathek's arrival with his young bride, and his visit to the subterranean halls of Istakhr.

"A death-like stillness reigned over the mountain and through the air. The moon dilated, on a vast platform, the shades of the lofty columns, which reached from the terrace almost to the clouds. The gloomy watch-towers, whose number could not be counted, were veiled by no roof; and their capitals, of an architecture unknown in the records

of the earth, served as an asylum for the birds of darkness, which, alarmed at the approach of such visitants, fled away croaking.

"The chief of the eunuchs, trembling with fear, besought Vathek that a fire might be kindled. 'No,' replied he, 'there is no time left to think of such trifles: abide where thou art, and expect my commands.' Having thus spoken, he presented his hand to Nouronihar, and ascending the steps of a vast staircase, reached the terrace which was flagged with squares of marble, and resembled a smooth expanse of water, upon whose surface not a leaf ever dared to vegetate. On the right rose the watch-towers, ranged before the ruins of an immense palace, whose walls were embossed with various figures. In front, stood forth the colossal forms of four creatures, composed of the leopard and the griffin, and though but of stone, inspiring emotions of terror. Near these were distinguished by the splendour of the moon, which streamed

full on the place, characters like those on the sabres of the Giaour, that possessed the same virtue of changing every moment. These, after vacillating for some time, at last fixed in Arabic letters, and prescribed to the Caliph the following words:—

"'Vathek! thou hast violated the conditions of my parchment, and deservest to be sent back; but in favour to thy companion, and as the meed for what thou hast done to obtain it, Eblis permitteth that the portal of his palace shall be opened, and the subterranean fire will receive thee into the number of its adorers.'

"He scarcely had read these words, before the mountain, against which the terrace was reared, trembled; and the watch-towers were ready to topple headlong upon them. The rock yawned, and disclosed within it a stair-case of polished marble, that seemed to approach the abyss. Upon each stair were planted two large torches, like those Nouronihar had seen in her vision; the camphorated vapour ascending from

which, gathered into a cloud under the hollow of the vault.

"This appearance, instead of terrifying, gave new courage to the daughter of Fakreddin. Scarcely deigning to bid adieu to the moon, and the firmament, she abandoned, without hesitation, the pure atmosphere, to plunge into these infernal exhalations. The gait of those impious personages was haughty and determined," &c.

After describing the hall into which this precious pair were ushered, the author goes on:—

"In the midst of this immense hall, a vast multitude was incessantly passing, who severally kept their right hands on their hearts, without once regarding any thing around them. They had all the livid paleness of death. Their eyes, deep sunk in their sockets, resembled those phosphorical meteors, that glimmer by night in places of interment. Some stalked slowly on, absorbed in profound reverie; some, shrieking with agony, ran furiously about, like

tigers wounded with poisoned arrows; whilst others, grinding their teeth in rage, foamed along, more frantic than the wildest maniac. They all avoided each other; and, though surrounded by a multitude that no one could number, each wandered at random, unheeded of the rest, as if alone on a desert, which no foot had trodden."

The descriptions are all so splendid, that, having once begun, we do not know when to stop, or what passage to leave out; but, if possible, the picture of Eblis himself surpasses all the rest.

"After some time, Vathek and Nouronihar perceived a gleam, brightening through the drapery, and entered a vast tabernacle, carpetted with the skins of leopards. An infinity of elders, with streaming beards, and armed, complete armour, had prostrated themselves before the ascent of a lofty eminence, on the top of which, *upon a globe of fire, sat the formidable Eblis.* His person was that of a young man, whose noble and regular features

seemed to have been tarnished by malignant vapours. In his large eyes appeared both pride and despair; his flowing hair retained some resemblance to that of an angel of light. In his hand, which thunder had blasted, he swayed the iron sceptre that causes the monster Ouranabad, the afrits, and all the powers of the abyss, to tremble. At his presence the heart of the Caliph sunk within him, and, for the first time, he fell prostrate on his face. Nouronihar, however, though greatly dismayed, could not help admiring the person of Eblis, for she expected to have seen some stupendous giant. Eblis, with a voice more mild than might have been imagined, but such as transfused through the soul the deepest melancholy, said: '*Creatures of Clay*, I receive you into mine empire; ye are numbered amongst my adorers; the treasures of the pre-Adamite sultans, their bickering sabres, and those talismans that compel the Dios to open the subterranean expanses of the mountain of Káf, which communicate with these,—there, insatiable as your

curiosity may be, shall you find sufficient to gratify it. You shall possess the exclusive privilege of entering the fortress of Aherman, and the halls of Argenk, where are portrayed all creatures endowed with intelligence, and the various animals that inhabited the earth, prior to the creation of that contemptible being whom ye denominate the Father of Mankind.'"

The new comers are allowed to roam for a time through the subterranean mansions; they visit the cells of the pre-Adamite sultans, and converse with King Solomon. The peculiarity of the multitude which flits before their eyes, with the right hand constantly pressed on the heart, is a fit illustration of "the worm that never dies." At length their doom is fixed, and as it was pronounced — "Their hearts immediately took fire; and they at once, lost the most precious of the gifts of heaven: *Hope*. These unhappy beings recoiled, with looks of the most furious distraction. Vathek beheld, in the eyes of Nouronihar, nothing but rage

and vengeance; nor could she discern in his, but aversion and despair.*

"Such was, and such should be, the punishment of unrestrained passions, and atrocious actions! Such is, and such *should* be, the chastisement of blind ambition, that would transgress those bounds which the Creator hath prescribed to human knowledge; and, by aiming at discoveries reserved for pure Intelligence, acquire that infatuated pride, which perceives not that the condition appointed to man is, to be ignorant and humble."

But to return to the vaults of Persepolis. Having procured lights, my guide took me down into dark corridors, which are so low in some parts, that not only was I obliged to advance in a bending posture, but even to crawl. In one direction I proceeded as far as eighty-five paces, in another seventy. These corridors are cut in the rock, and are covered by huge granite blocks, which circumstance makes me suppose that they were hewn pre-

* See Note at end of the chapter.

vious to the construction of the massive buildings on the platform. These subterranean walks intersect each other at right angles, and branch off in various directions. Some even, I was told, communicate with the tombs in the mountain. This may explain the non-existence of a door into the royal tombs of Rahmed from the external face of the rock; but how are we to account for the absence of a similar entry into the caves at Nakshi-Rustam? Water appears likewise to have been conducted by means of these subterranean canals. In summer, the vaults of Persepolis form the residence of herds of porcupines, which breed there in vast numbers, the ground being strewed with the dry manure and bristles of this animal.* This is all I saw in the lower regions of Takhti-Jemshid, and although it fell short of what Vathek and his fair companion had witnessed many centuries before me, of the infernal grandeur of the court of Eblis, I took warning

* See chapter xii. on the migrations of the Persepolitan porcupines.

from their example, not to push my inquisitive investigations any further, but hastened to exchange the dark abode for the pure light of heaven, and quit the loathsome atmosphere of the cells below, to inhale the fresh air of the plain of Merdasht.

The three royal tombs of Kúhi-Rahmed (the Kior-Ahmed of Dupré), resemble those at Nakshi-Rustam. The tomb opposite the colonnade, and of which Diodorus* makes mention, is the most perfect of the whole.

In the upper part of the front bas-relief, at the top of the sarcophagus, which is supported by two rows of human figures, fourteen in each row, stands the mobed or high priest (supposed to be Ormuzd, or the figure of the departed king), holding a bow in the left hand, while the right is extended forward. Before him is the Atesh-Kadeh, or fire-altar, and above a winged figure, the *feruer*, or spirit of the departed king; because according to the

* Diodorus Siculus, liv. xvii. part 2, sec. lxxi., in Miot's French translation.

Zoroastrian creed, every created being in the universe had his guardian angel.* Even every inanimate thing had its prototype in heaven. This belief among the most ancient Zend nations, may have given rise to the mythology of the Greeks and Romans, who peopled every corner of the globe with their protecting gods and goddesses. High upon the right is the ball of the sun, the brightest and purest emblem of the Deity in the Gebr cosmogony. It is shorn of its rays, and has in its lower part *the curve of the moon.* I mention this latter circumstance, because M. Lassen seems to doubt the fact of the figure of the moon appearing on any of the sculptures at Persepolis.†

I found another emblem of the moon in one

* We read, in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, chap. xviii. 10,—"Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven."

† See Lassen's profound and highly-entertaining article on Persepolis and the Persians, in the Allgemeine Encyclopedie, &c., vol. xvii., p. 365.

of its quarters, on the side wall to the left of the sarcophagus, on which several figures are represented with long spears. The moon is above the head of the figure, in the middle compartment.

As the waters of springs and brooks were particularly sacred to *Amshashpand Khordad*, (one of the three forms of the "refulgent lamp of night," *Khordad*, *Sapondomad*, and *Moh*,*) the representation of the moon on this rock may have proceeded from the circumstance that there is a spring of water in Mount Rahmed, which passes through this royal tomb.

The upper cornice, which separates the sarcophagus from the lower part of the sculptured wall, is ornamented with eighteen figures of lions, with tails curled up like dogs. There are nine in one direction and as many in the other, meeting in the middle. The lower cornice is supported by four bas-relief columns, two on each side of the door. The architrave is elegantly fluted, and the frame of the door

* See the Zend-Aresta, b. 2., p. 141, in Kleuker.

entirely adorned with delicately-sculptured roses. The capitals of the columns are the same double figures of bulls we have described before, and which are represented supporting on their joint crests the upper bas-reliefs, with the sarcophagus.

I found great difficulty in penetrating into the interior of the cave, on account of the accumulated sand which choked the entrance. On digging close to the aperture a quantity of water rushed forth; and it was not until it had time to run out that I could crawl into the recess of the mountain. I found in an arched niche only one excavation in the rock similar to that at Nakshi-Rustam. Judging, however, by the depth of the niche, there may have been two excavated tombs; but it was impossible to ascertain the fact on account of the accumulated sand in the cave. The water seems to have penetrated into it through some fissure in the rock above, and must pass through some bed of sand, as it has brought down a quantity with it.

The second cave to the south has three vaulted niches, each containing a tomb. It now serves as a granary for cut straw piled in the embrasures, while the lower part is covered with water and wet sand. The natives call the first cave the *meschid*, or mosque, and the second the *hammam*, or bath.

At some distance to the south in the same mountain is the third tomb, similar to the former two, but in its lower part it has been left incomplete.

Much interesting matter has already been written on Persepolis; many ingenious conjectures* have been made as to the probable date and object of its foundation, and still the subject is far from being exhausted.

The questions connected with it still remain

* We do not mean to class among the ingenious conjectures the surmises of Samuel Simon Wette, that Persepolis and the Pyramids owe their origin to some volcanic eruption, although we certainly must range them among the strange conceptions of the human brain, probably produced by what the erudite Wette would call a "*mental volcanic eruption.*"

unsolved, and some time will probably elapse before they can be satisfactorily cleared up, if they are ever destined to be so at all. However, if anything is more likely than another to promote the success of these researches, it is the study of the Zend texts, which has resulted already in the unravelling of many of the symbolic representations on the monuments of Persepolis; whilst the progress the learned men of Europe are making in the deciphering of the arrow-headed characters, of which the Persepolitan walls present such a splendid library, will, it is to be hoped, lead, although by a different course, to the same result, and assist in offering to the world the solution of this great enigma of past ages.

NOTE TO CHAPTER VI.

Page 151.—The *Kholaussat-ul-Akbar* gives a somewhat different account of Vathek's death; but though it does not partake of the supernatural character of romance, the circumstance which put a period to his life is not less strange. It states, that "Labouring under the effects of a dropsical

intemperance, it was prescribed to Ul-Wauthek by his physicians, towards the concluding period of life, that he should seat himself in a hot stove, or oven, as soon after the embers should have been withdrawn as it should be endurable. The experiment is said to have been attended with singular success; but finding such unlooked-for and unexpected relief, the monarch was not to be satisfied without a further application to the remedy, with a more violent degree of heat. In this he was obeyed, and perceiving, when too late, that it was beyond his endurance, he beckoned to be taken out of the stove, and expired on the same day, in the latter part of Zelhudje, or the year 232 (A.D. 846), at the premature age of thirty-six, and after exercising, according to the expression of the original, a power repugnant to the orthodox principles of Islam for the period of five years seven months and some days." (See Price's "Chronological Retrospect; or, Memoirs of the Principal Events of Mohammedan History," &c., vol. ii., page 150.)

CHAPTER VII.

Visit to the Cave of Shah-Sharmu with Pehlevi inscriptions.—Mussulman grave in a recess of the mountains.—Seat of the town of Istakhr.—Birth-place of the impostor Mozdac.—Discovery of old coins.—Extract from Professor Heeren.—Band-Amir.—Thomas Moore.—Road to Shiráz.—Stop at the Nabob's house.—State of Shiráz and the province of Fars.—Rival parties.—Short sketch of the history of Madame de La Marriniere.

HAVING ascertained the existence of a curious cavern, at no great distance, with some remarkable inscriptions, I desisted for some hours from the pleasure of admiring the beautiful remains of Persepolis, and took my Persian kedkhuda to guide me thither. This cave is behind Nakshi-Rustam in the hills of Kúhi-Husein.

To lose as little time as possible, we started two hours before sun-rise, and arriving at the entrance of the defile, left our horses and proceeded on foot up a narrow cleft in the

mountain by a very steep and stony ascent. At a considerable height we found in the recess of the hill a lonely grotto, from whence flowed a spring of crystal water. In the inside, near the entrance, stood a tomb formed of white marble slabs, which had partly given way, and were covered with Arabic inscriptions, denoting that it was the last abode of a follower of Islam. A single willow-tree sprung at the foot of this lonely monument, while the massive and naked rocks, which rose perpendicularly above the head, shut out the glaring light of the sun, and threw their lengthened shadows down the craggy path by which we had ascended. The imposing grandeur of the scene, the unearthly calm which breathed around us, involuntarily inspired feelings of devotion, and I almost envied the lot of the silent tenant of the grave. The sight of a tomb usually raises serious ideas even in an ordinary cemetery close to the habitations and the buzz of the living; but that pensive disposition of the mind is enhanced, when we meditate over a grave-stone

in some secluded shade, far from the busy throng and haunts of men. There the mind feels less distracted by external objects, and the heart enters more freely into communion with its God.

On retracing our steps half way down the hill, we turned to the left, and entered a spacious cavern, the depth of which, on account of the obscurity of the place, it was impossible to fathom. In another part of the same grotto, were several niches in the wall; in two of them I found long inscriptions in the Pehlevi character; the one, however, differing somewhat from the other. I was not aware at the time of their having been already copied by Sir R. Kerr Porter, and congratulated myself on the discovery. I even payed an extra ducat to the kedkhuda for conducting me to the place. I immediately set about taking a copy of these inscriptions, but, as I had never before made any attempt of that nature, it was full two hours before I could complete the task. The first inscription has sixteen

lines, the second only fourteen. The caves bear the name of *Shasharmú*, and lie N.N.W. of the village of Hajïabad and W. by W.N.W. from that of Porú. I afterwards learned, from a well-informed Persian scholar, that this place is supposed to have been sacred to Zoroaster.

The nature of the mountain seems to be the same as at Nakshi-Rustam, being formed of white marble, with grey and yellowish streaks.

On our way back, we visited the remains of the town of Istakhr, the fluted columns of which, with ornamental capitals in the Persepolitan style, as well as the massive blocks of a gate-way, have been repeatedly described by travellers, which dispenses me from making any further comments, save that it is my impression that these remains are coeval with the ancient structures at Takhti-Jemshid, and probably formed part of the city to which the Greeks gave the name of Persepolis.

A thick layer of earth has covered the greater part of the ruins, but deep excavations, similar

to those at Rhey, near Teheran, continue to be made by the neighbouring villagers for the purpose of procuring bricks for the construction of baths and houses.

We learn from Greek historians, that Istakhr, or Persepolis, was always a favoured spot among the Persians. It was the cradle of the Achemenid race, who were exempted from paying the ordinary tribute to which the rest of the nation was subjected;* while each female of Persepolis, since the reign of Cyrus, possessed the privilege of claiming as her due a golden coin from the Sovereign whenever he returned to his capital after an absence of some duration.†

This ancient city, whose name is associated in native romance with the glory of Jemshid during the heroic ages of the world, previous to the dawn of history, and which had presided over the birth of the mighty empire of the King of kings, was doomed, by a sad reverse of

* Herodotus vi. 97.

† Plutarch de mulier. virtutib., lib. viii., et Alex.

fortune, to witness likewise the last struggle for its independence before it sunk beneath the overwhelming power of Islam. For it was in the neighbourhood of Istakhr that Yezdijird, on his return from Khorasan, placed himself, for the last time, at the head of his subjects, and was defeated by Abdullah, the son of Omar, in the year 650 of J. C.*

Among the celebrities of Istakhr, we may mention the famous impostor *Mazdac*, who propagated the absurd doctrine of the community of women, which in our days has been renewed by the Saint Simonians. Mazdac was a native of that town, and flourished in the reign of the Sasanian monarch Kobad, in the sixth century of the Christian era.

During my stay at Kenore, I made diligent inquiries whether any ancient coins were ever found in the ruins of Persepolis or in the neighbourhood, and ascertained that a shepherd tending his flocks among the mountains, had

* See Rouzul-ul-Suffa, and Habeib-Usseyr, in Price's "Retrospect of Mahomedan History," &c., vol. i., page 159.

lately discovered in a recess of Kúh-Rahmed, a considerable number of brass coins. I naturally felt very anxious to get them, but as the proprietor lived at a distance, some time elapsed before I could obtain a sight of them. I soon became aware that the master of the house where I lodged, having observed that I betrayed some eagerness to possess those coins, took immediate advantage, by extorting money for the hire of *Cosids* or *foot*-messengers, whom he made me believe he sent in different directions in search of the shepherd. The latter at length came with his treasure, and I purchased of him the whole lot, consisting of nearly 200 brass coins. Most of them are of the Teymúrid dynasty, with Arabic inscriptions of the fourteenth century. As far as my limited knowledge in Numismatics goes, I believe coins of this dynasty are reckoned very scarce in cabinets of medals.

On the 11th of January I left Kenore, regretting exceedingly that I was obliged to

part so soon with Persepolis. Casting a long lingering look in the direction of the clustered columns, I bade them an affectionate farewell. Persepolis was only a new acquaintance, and yet I felt as if I were separating from an old friend whose intrinsic worth had gained my esteem and commanded my respect.

There is so much grandeur and simplicity about these ruins, such a tranquil greatness in them; there is so much soul in these silent, yet eloquent memorials of the past, that I can only draw my comparisons from living—human beings: it is the placid, dignified calmness of a virtuous woman, combined with the majestic look of a man, with the furrows of age and adversity on his brow, yet firmly resigned to the will of God.

But before we take a final leave of Persepolis, let us attend to what has fallen from the eloquent pen of the great German writer, Heeren, on the subject.

"Not only," says Heeren, "is Persia Proper memorable on account of its historical asso-

ciations, but also for the architectural remains which it continues to present. The ruins of Persepolis are the noblest monuments of the most flourishing era of this empire which have survived the lapse of ages. As solitary in their situation as peculiar in their character, they rise above the deluge of years which for centuries has overwhelmed all the records of human grandeur around them or near them, and buried all traces of Susa and of Babylon. Their venerable antiquity and majestic proportions, do not more command our reverence than the mystery which involves their construction awakens the curiosity of the most unobservant spectator. Pillars which belong to no known order of architecture; inscriptions in an alphabet which continues an enigma; fabulous animals, which stand as guards at the entrance; the multiplicity of allegorical figures which decorate the walls, all conspire to carry us back to ages of the most remote antiquity, over which the traditions of the East shed a doubtful and wandering light. Even the question what Per-

sepolis really was, is not so perfectly ascertained as to satisfy the critical historian. An answer to this question may, however, be fairly expected, when we consider the ample materials which the traveller and the artist have already contributed."*

I did not take the direct course to Shiráz, over Púli-Khan, but chose the road over Bend-Amir, a name rendered classical by the Irish bard, in one of the happy effusions of his poetical muse :—

" There's a bower of roses by Bendemeer's stream,
And the nightingale sings round it all the day long:
In the time of my childhood 'twas like a sweet dream,
To sit in the roses and hear the bird's song.
That bower and its music I never forget,
But oft when alone, in the bloom of the year,
I think—Is the nightingale singing there yet?
Are the roses still bright by the calm Bendemeer?

" No! the roses soon wither'd that hung o'er the wave;
But some blossoms were gather'd, while freshly they shone,

* See Heeren's " Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity," vol. i., chap. i., page 141, of the English version.

And a dew was distilled from their flowers, that gave
All the fragrance of summer, when summer was gone.
Thus memory draws from delight, ere it dies,
An essence that breathes of it many a year;
Thus bright to my soul, as 'twas then to my eyes,
Is that bower on the banks of the calm Bendemeer."*

No more did I find the roses hanging o'er the wave, nor did the season admit of the song of the nightingale; and although in spring Bend-Amir, I have no doubt, must be a delightful spot, when embosomed in the transparent foliage of its gardens, with its picturesque cascades, and the fantastically-shaped rocks, which overhang the village; still it would require a powerful imagination to find it half so lovely as it appears in the bewitching strains of the poet. The pleasing impression Bend-Amir produced on me, was owing chiefly to the agreeable recollections it brought with it, of the time when I first read "Lalla-Rookh," and all those endearing associations of

* Thomas Moore's Veiled Prophet of Korassin, p. 63, in the Poem of "Lalla-Rookh."

the heart, so closely linked with youth—poetry and hope. I felt all the force and the truth of what Moore has so beautifully expressed,—

> "Thus memory draws from delight, ere it dies,
> An essence that breathes of it many a year," &c.

From Kenore, which we left at a-quarter past six a.m., in a S.S.W. direction, we reached Bend-Amir at half-past eight a.m., after passing the village of *Reshmoji*, half-an-hour's ride from last night's halting-place, and from which the bridge of Púli-Khan lies W. by W.S.W.

Bend-Amir consists of sixty houses, with twenty-one water-mills, erected on the river of the same name. Here is the famous dyke which was constructed in the tenth century by Amir Uzun-Deylemi, from whom the river Kúm Ferúz, after its junction with the Múrgab (the Polvar and Medus of the ancients), has derived its name, Bend-Amir signifying the Dyke of the Chief. A flat bridge of thirteen arches is thrown over the stream, the waters of which form a beautiful cascade just under it.

As the bed of the river is very deep, seven other dykes have been constructed in its lower course to procure water for the irrigation of the fields. Of these dykes, that of Bendi-Talekan, four farsangs lower down the stream, has a bridge similar to the one at Bend-Amir. At present the fields around this village are left uncultivated, because the dyke is out of repair, and the water does not rise high enough to the surface of the ground; hence the inhabitants have turned their attention to other pursuits, and have become millers, grinding flour for all the adjacent villages.

We left the place at a quarter to ten, the road leading due west, with a chain of steep and fantastically-shaped mountains to the left, and the buluk of Merdasht, from which we were separated by the river Bend-Amir, to the right. After an hour's ride the road makes a turn to W.S.W. From this point Puli-Khan is to N. by N.N.E.; the mountains of Nakshi-Rustam N.N.E.; while the plain in front continues to extend in a western direction. It was

here that the immense studs of the late Prince of Shiráz, Husein Ali-Mirza, used to graze.

Having crossed a belt of mountains, we descended into another plain, covered with large patches of high reeds and fine pastures. At eleven we turned to the south. In an eastern direction from this point, close to some heights, is situated the rich village of Zergan, the nursery of the greater majority of the chalvadars, or muleteers, who are spread all over Persia, forming a distinct class, with laws, habits, prejudices, and superstitions peculiar to themselves.

The fields around Zergan are very well cultivated. A large karavanserai stands close to the village, which is about five farsangs distant from Shiráz, Persepolis being between nine or ten farsangs from the latter city.

The road first took us to W.S.W., and then inclined to S.S.W., over a hilly, stony, and barren country. A farsang from Zergan we passed a fortified place, now empty, but which had been garrisoned a few years past in order to protect the traveller from the marauding

propensities of the wandering tribes during the unsettled state of the country. One farsang further brought us to another karavanserai; and on nearing Shiráz, we came to a rahdar-khaneh, or toll-gate, established for collecting duty on merchandise, but which has been done away with by the chief Mushteïd, or head of the clergy at Shiráz, Sheikh Abú-Turab.

Near the rahdar-khaneh I was met by the eldest son of Muhammed Ali Khan Navob, a very intelligent and interesting young lad, in whose father's house I meant to stop, he being an old acquaintance of mine, and a most excellent man into the bargain.

Half a farsang distant from the gates of Shiráz is the narrow passage which leads down into the plain, and is called Tengi Allah Akbar, from whence the town, with the adjacent country, first bursts upon the sight, offering a magnificent panorama of buildings and gardens, filled with dark and graceful cypresses.

On the brow of the Tengi Allah Akbar, we

passed under an arch-way, over which there are several apartments fitted up, and in one of them the Shirazi religiously preserve as a relic the Koran of Sultan Ibrahim, son of Sultan Rokh, and grandson of Amir Timur. The merit of this Koran is greatly owing to its bulk, and is said to weigh upwards of ten manï, or about eighty pounds.

By the way I was shown the brook of Ruknabad, celebrated in verse by the greatest native poet. Had it not been pointed out to me, I never should have noticed this insignificant stream, to which Hafis has given such renown, that its name is repeated by a greater number of mouths than its meagre waters could quench the thirst of. The same exaggeration prevails in the moral world, and many a mortal who has been extolled to the skies, will, perhaps, when weighed in the balance of eternal justice, be found wanting.

We could only reach Shiráz about sun-set. I was received in the most friendly manner by the Navob, under whose hospitable roof I re-

mained the few days of my stay in this town.

After my host and his friends, who were assembled in the reception-hall, had finished their evening *Namaz*, or prayers, and the latter had taken their leave, he conducted me into an interior apartment, where a table was laid out with viands suited to a European palate.

Here we spent a most pleasant evening, passing in review the various events we had witnessed together a few years before at Teheran, at the accession to the throne of the reigning Sovereign of Persia, His Majesty Muhammed Shah.

The next day was occupied in visiting the different gardens for which Shiráz is celebrated. The season of the year was not favourable for their inspection, although the weather was particularly fine, but with a little imagination I could take for granted all that the natives have written in praise of these lovely abodes of the nightingale. I readily indeed allow that in spring these gardens must be beautiful.

The pure brilliancy of the Persian sky, the brightness and transparency of its verdure, the delicious odours that are wafted through the air from the groves of fruit-trees, rich in their vernal blossoms, and the rippling sounds of the crystal cascades, must enrapture the senses, and involuntarily steal away the heart of all such as are susceptible of the charms of nature; and, as all is relative here below, the beauty of these little oases is enhanced by the aridity of the rocks and plains that surround them.

I pass over the description of the gardens of Saadi and of Hafis with the monumental remains of these two poets and philosophers, the pride of their countrymen; that of Dil-kusha and the garden, with the palace called Takhti-Kajar, these places having been enlarged upon by most of our western travellers, who have visited Shiraz.

However, before I quit this city to enter on my new journey, I may be allowed to bestow a few remarks on the state in which I found it, as well as the province of Fars.

Since the death of Fet'h-Ali-Shah, which happened in the latter end of the year 1834, six different Governors have succeeded each other in the administration of the province. After the removal of Husein-Ali-Mirza, who had been the Ferman Ferma, or *Vice-roy* of Fars, for many years, during the life time of his father, the old King, and had governed it almost as an independent sovereign, Manucher-Khan, the Moétemid-Daulet, was enjoined by the present Shah to establish order in that province, under the nominal authority of Firuz-Mirza, one of the younger sons of Abbas Mirza, the late Naïb-Sultan.

In 1836, another son of that Prince, Feridan-Mirza, former Chief of Aderbeijan, and favourite pupil of the Prime Minister, was named Ferman Ferma of Fars, while Manucher-Khan was appointed to the Government of Kerman-shah, with Lúristán and Arabistán. Symptoms of discontent soon became manifest, and at length reached to such a climax, that the Shahzadeh was forced to fly from Shiraz, and

Mirza Nebi-Khan, the Divan-Begi (President of the Civil and Criminal Court), was sent to re-establish order and tranquillity. In the summer of 1840, he was succeeded by a near kinsman of the Shah, Nasrullah Khan Kajar, who soon after his arrival fell sick and died. Another step-brother of the King, Ferhad Mirza, replaced him. From the rapid succession of Chiefs, the province had suffered materially; each of these Governors, independently of the sum paid to the Crown for the farming of the province, had been exposed to other considerable expenses, in those gratuities which are generally attendant in acknowledgment of State favours.

The first object of a Governor, therefore, after taking possession of his new government was to repay himself as well as he could at the expense, and to the injury of the inhabitants, without regard to the regular taxation of the country.*

* On visiting the palace of Kerim-Khan, I met there an old man, I believe a contemporary of the Vakil, who, with

Although Fars is one of the richest, if not the richest, province of the kingdom, the arrears extended to a great amount, and the exhausted contributors were unable any more to meet the demands of Government. The annual assessment of Fars is 360,000 tomans, or about 180,000*l.*, which, with good management, might be doubled. The soil being rich, the productions various, the country requires only a good administration and some security for property, to be in a flourishing state. But unfortunately this desideratum is felt all over the kingdom, and it is not probable that it will be soon attained.

I found Shiráz divided into two rival camps. At the head of one party was the Il-Begi,

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tears in his eyes, pointed to the work of destruction and spoliation, which had been practised on the ornamented walls of the apartments. Venetian mirrors, and portraits painted on glass, which formerly decorated the halls, had been removed, and such as had resisted the hand of the spoiler, by sticking firmly to the walls, had been wantonly shattered to pieces.

whose elder brother, the Il-Khani, or chief of a great number of the Nomadic tribes of Fars, resides at Teheran. At the head of the other, was the Kalentar or Civil Governor of the city, Hajji Mirza Ali Akbar. He is the son of the famous Hajji Ibrahim, who betrayed the cause of Lutf Ali Khan, the last of the Zend dynasty, in favour of Aga Muhammed Khan Kajar.

The power of the Kalentar seems better established in the precincts of the town, than that of his antagonist, whose influence is greater in the country among the Iliyats. The Shah-Zadeh and his Vizier hope to uphold their own authority by keeping alive the animosity between the two rival parties, and in this respect they only follow the policy pursued all over the empire, and that which appears from time immemorial to have been the system of government in Persia. It happens still oftener that the Prince, who is named governor of a province, embraces the cause of one party, while his minister sides with the adherents of

the other. One can easily imagine what sort of order and harmony can exist, when such elements compose the administration.

As a stranger and a guest, allied to no party in particular, I was welcomed and entertained by the leaders of the two opposing camps, and spent a most pleasant time, especially in the company of the worthy Muhammed Khan-Navob. I must say, that I have seldom met with a Persian of more enlarged and liberal views on most subjects, or a man more amiable and prepossessing in his manners.

I was likewise agreeably surprised to meet, at Shiraz, a chief of an Arab tribe, whose acquaintance I had formed in 1837, at Kermanshah, where I had been fortunate enough to render him a trifling service. This Ali-Khan Boseri (the name of the Iliyat chief) had not forgotten; and as soon as he was apprized of my arrival, he came to see me, and on the eve of my departure, invited me to a splendid banquet.

I found there two sons of the former

Ferman Ferma, Imam Kuli Mirza, and Nadir Mirza, who, although greatly fallen from their former consequence, kept up for awhile their princely importance. This, however, gave way by degrees, as they helped themselves to the sparkling *hulari*, till at length one of them who sat next to me, became very communicative, and even affectionate. He liked the Frengi, he said, and had always courted the acquaintance of the Europeans who came to Shiráz. To the company he boasted of his knowledge of the languages of the Frengi, and appealed to me to decide whether that was not the case, as he went on repeating at every bumper he took up, the words, *I lùve you, I tank you, Sir!*

From Ali-Khan Boseri I learned many particulars which proved very useful to me in the course of my journey through Luristan, he having twice travelled through the country.

The surname of Boseri is attached to his name, and to that of the Arab tribe of which he is the chief, on account of their descent from those Arabs who first settled near Basra,

and from thence extended their conquests into Persia.

Before leaving Shiraz, I visited the tomb of poor Madame de La Marinièrre, which had been raised to her memory by the friendly care of her countryman, in the service of the Shah.

This French lady had resided for a number of years in Persia. She was rather an eccentric woman; and the fact alone of having come to this country by herself, would be sufficient to stamp her character with originality; but though singular, she had many excellent qualities, with a warm and generous heart, which few were aware of, and therefore knew not how to appreciate her worth. Among some of her oddities, I may mention the following:—

Whilst in the service of Abbas-Mirza, the Naïb Sultan, or heir-presumptive, in the quality of governess and teacher of the French language to his sons, Madame de La Marinièrre had contrived to cast the moulds of the wrists and ankles of all those young women of his and his

sons' harems who were most remarkable for their slender forms, and carried them about wherever she went. Had this curious collection been preserved it might have formed an interesting study of this branch of the human form, but unfortunately the Persian chalvadars or muleteers, who are no respecters of persons' limbs, on unloading their animals one fine morning, flung down on the ground the chest which contained these precious relics, and on the cover being opened, lo! they presented one sad heap of desolation. At the time the cholera raged in Persia, Madame de La Marinièrre showed much courage and self-abnegation in attending on the sick, and ministering to their wants as much as lay in her power, although she was just herself recovering from the same complaint. The death of Madame de La Marinièrre is ascribed to her own imprudence. She had already once performed the journey from Tabriz to Shiráz, and had written a description of her travels, with an account of the remains of Persepolis in Persian, which she presented to

the Shah, together with many sketches of the ruins drawn by a native artist, whom she had engaged to accompany her to Takhti-Jemshid for that purpose. In the spring of 1841 being at Isfahan, she formed the project of exploring Fesa and Darabjird, notwithstanding the weighty objections that were raised by her friends, to dissuade her from undertaking the journey, or, at least, to engage her to postpone it during the unhealthy summer season in these hot districts. But Madame de La Marinièrre was not a woman to be easily dissuaded when she had once made up her mind, and found to her cost, when it was too late, that the warning she had received was well grounded. She had not been long in those parts before she was attacked by the prevailing fever of the country, which put an end to her existence on her return to Shiráz.

It appears that Madame de La Marinièrre belonged to a noble family in France, which had suffered by the great revolution of 1789; in later years, according to her account, she had

been *lectrice* to the Queen of Naples, the sister of Napoleon, and Murat's wife. And although she had been much injured by her country, she felt and expressed herself on all occasions warmly in favour of her native land.

CHAPTER VIII.

Different roads leading from Shiráz to Behbehán.—Furnished with artillery horses through the kindness of the Prince Ferhad-Mirza.—Kind feeling and hospitality of the Persians.—Quit Shiráz.—Precaution to be adopted in travelling during winter through the snow.—Desht-Arján.—Contrast in the climate at Piri-Zen and Kuteli-Dohter.—Sculptured rock.—Overtaken by night.—Arrival at Kazerún.

On arriving at Shiráz, I made the necessary inquiries concerning the road I was to follow, in order to reach Behbehán, to the Governor of which place I had a letter of introduction from the Moétemid, requesting him to furnish me with the means of reaching Shushter in safety.

I learned that three different roads lead to Behbehán. The first passes through the valley of Hulár, celebrated for its vineyards, which yield the best sort of Shiráz wine. By this road the distance to Behbehán is not much

above fifty farsangs, and it has the following stations:—

	Farsangs.	
From Shiráz to Guyán . .	4	In the limits of Shiráz.
to Shúl . . .	3	
to Kal'eh Haroverján .	4	In Shúlistán or territory of the Mamasenis.
to Husein-Khan .	7	
to Faliyan . .	3	
to Ser-Abi-Siah .	5	
to Basht . . .	4	In the territory of the Khogilu dependency of Behbehán.
to Dughumbedán or Dughumbezán .	9	
to Kheirabad . .	8	
to Behbehán . .	3	
	50	

This route was followed by Sir John M'Donald Kinneir, on his journey from Shushter to Shiráz, and leads through the pass of Kal'eh-Sefid.

The second road conducts to Abu-Shehr over Kazerún, from this by sea to Hindiyán, and then by land to Behbehán; this is the usual route followed by travellers bound for Behbehán; though there exists another road,

which, before reaching Abu-Shehr, turns to the right, and follows the sea-beach.

The third route, instead of pursuing the direct line to Abu-Shehr, strikes off from Kazerún to the north, and, passing by the ruins of Shapúr, penetrates into the heart of the Mamaseni country, and only joins the first route at Faliyán.

Not being aware that a description of this latter road existed, and learning, moreover, that the ruins of Shapúr and Naubenjan lay on my way, I preferred it to the two former, although each of them would have been replete with novelty for me. The stations of the third run thus (although I did not keep strictly to them):—

	Farsangs.
From Shiráz to Khaneh-Zenian . .	7
to Desht-Arján . . .	4
Karavanserai Kutel-i-Dohter .	4
to Kazerún . . .	6
to Diriz . . .	3
to Nudún . . .	5
to Núrabad . .	8
to Faliyán . . .	2

	Farsangs.
From Shiráz to Kal'eh-Ali Veis-Khan, or Ser-Ab-i-Siah	5
to Basht	4
to Dughumbezán	9
to Kheirabad	8
to Behbehán	3
	68

With the help of my hospitable host, Muhammed-Ali-Khan Navob, and his friend, Sardar Hassan-Khan, I was soon furnished with the necessary papers to the different petty chieftains of the Mamaseni tribes, independently of the *Firman* of the Shah, which was couched in general terms, and addressed to the governors of provinces and to the kedkhudas of villages, in whatever direction I might chance to proceed, and a *Rakam*, or order from the Governor of Fars, Behbehán being under his jurisdiction.

I had performed my journey from Teheran to Shiráz by post, this being the swiftest mode of conveyance, though far less convenient than

riding one's own horses. But as there are no Chapar-khanehs, or post stations, established between Shiráz and Behbehán, the young Prince Ferhad-Mirza, the Governor of Fars, kindly offered to supply me with horses from the Artillery-park, one for myself, two for my servants, and a fourth for my baggage, appointing, at the same time, an artillery sergeant, well acquainted with the country, to conduct me in safety to Behbehán.

I have a pleasant duty to perform, in expressing my heartfelt acknowledgments for the marks of kindness and attention I have, with very few exceptions, met with, as well from the highest as from the lowest class of Persians, with whom I have come in contact during my sojourn in that country; and the grateful feelings such conduct has kindled in my breast, are the choicest gems the East could bestow on me.

On the 18th of January, 1841, I left Shiráz before sunrise. The morning was excessively cold. The snow which had fallen the day

before, and had been swept off the terraced roofs of the houses, was heaped up in the streets and much retarded our progress. The wind blew from the north-east; and emerging out of the city gate, I found the plain of Shiráz, which the native poets compare with the gardens of Paradise, bearing a great resemblance to the Siberian *tundra** in the depths of winter. When the sun rose, the dazzling brightness from the snow became so glaring, that I had recourse to my coloured spectacles, but an unlucky jerk of my horse threw them down and broke the glasses. Had I not taken the precaution to provide myself with a green crape veil I should have been much inconvenienced. I therefore recommend all who chance to travel during winter in Persia, always to provide themselves with coloured spectacles or green crape, because without this precaution, the refraction from

* *Tundra*, a provincial word in use among the inhabitants of Siberia, designates the low country, which extends to the frozen ocean.

the rays of the sun on the snow is so great, and acts so powerfully on the eyes, that inflammation easily ensues, causing incredible pain.*

We pursued a westerly direction, first over the plain of Shiráz, and then along hillocks till we reached the village and karavanserai of Kal'eh-Zenian, about eight farsangs from the town. Close to the village flows a petty stream proceeding from the mountains in a north-western direction, and continuing its course into the plain of Shiráz. The road from hence winds through a hilly country, covered with shrubs and dwarfish oaks. To the right are the elevated mountains of Ardekan, capped with

* The best cure for it, as far at least as my experience goes, is that recommended by the natives. This consists in holding the face over steam, as hot as one can bear it. The steam can be procured by putting some red coals or red iron into a bucket with snow; likewise steam from the infusion of black tea, but one must take the precaution of isolating oneself with the steam apparatus from contact with the external air, by wrapping oneself over completely with a cloth.

snow. From the summit of *Sine-Sefid*, or the white breast, (where a round tower is erected, in which the weary traveller may find some shelter,) the hills slope to the west, into the valley of Desht-Arjan, while the great chain continues its course to the south-east. It took us a considerable time to reach the edge of the valley, and the sun had long set ere we arrived at the ruined karavanserai of the deserted village of Desht-Arjan.

After a ride of twelve farsangs, which are equal to forty-five English miles, over a very difficult and unpleasant country, none of us felt much inclined to prepare supper, and even had any one evinced a desire to help his neighbour, his charitable intentions would have been ineffectual, as there was nothing to be got. The best thing, therefore, I could do, was to wrap myself up in my cloak and lay down for warmth close to the horses, where I soon sank into profound sleep.

We were up by daybreak, and followed the valley of Desht-Arjan in a southern direction.

The ground was covered with snow, and, to judge by the surrounding mountains, and the country I passed through later in the course of the day, I think Desht-Arjan must form a very high table land. A small rivulet (near the source of which is situated the karavanserai above mentioned) runs along this valley, and a farsang further to the south-east it forms a lake, or a marsh overgrown with rushes.

Desht-Arjan yields fine pastures, on which the studs of the former Ferman Ferma used to graze. The Prince himself often visited this spot for the purpose of sport, there being abundance of game in the mountains. The wild boar also is met with in the Kamish. After a ride of two hours, we had a short ascent to perform, and then descended by a very rapid and prolonged declivity. This chain of mountains is the Piri-Zen, (or the hill of the old woman,) which extends from N.N.W. to S.E. From its summit I witnessed a striking contrast in nature. The valley of Desht-Arjan, with the snowy

heights behind it, and the eastern declivities of the Pir-i-Zen, were covered with snow, and bore all the features of winter; whilst on the western side of the same chain, towards Kutel-i-Dokhter, (or the mountain of the maiden,) the vegetation was green, the air balmy and warm, and not a particle of snow was to be seen. I even plucked a few spring flowers which grew among the stones close to the road.

Thus the abrupt chain of Pir-i-Zen served as a line of demarcation between winter and spring. It is very likely that the appellation of *Old Woman* and the *Maiden*, given by the Persians to these two chains, is a poetical allusion to the diversity of climate which so strikingly distinguishes the one from the other.

After leaving the karavanserai of Mián-Kutel, half-way down the Pir-i-Zen, and crossing the Valley of Deshtber,* which divides the

* The same which Mr. Ainsworth calls the Valley of Abdui, from a village of that name near the foot of the Piri-Zen. See his "Researches in Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldea," &c., page 230.

two chains, and is partly cultivated, but mostly covered with forest-trees, I rode up the Kutel-i-Dokhter, from the height of which I obtained a splendid view of the plain of Kazerún, closed to the west by the Kúmerij mountains. The descent from Kutel-i-Dokhter is very steep, and a stone pavement, consisting of steps, runs in a zig-zag line down to the foot of the hill. It has so often attracted attention, and been described by European travellers, that I may dispense with giving a detailed account of it. I shall only express my doubts as to its representing the *climax megale* of Pliny, as some writers suppose, because Pliny expressly mentions that this great ladder road was in the interior of the country in a direction towards Media,* which is not the case here.

At the extremity of a projecting mountain, close to the road, is an uncouth sculpture,

* See "Histoire Naturelle de Pline," traduite par M. de Sivry, tom. ii. lib. vi. chap. xxvi. p. 775, and my further observations on it in chapter xvii.

representing Timur Mirza,* one of the sons of the late Ferman Ferma of Fars, with his favourite lion, which the young prince had brought up from a whelp, and had taught to follow him like a dog. What disfigures the bas-relief still more is, that the figures are painted in colours like the modern group of figures in the cave of Takhti-Bostan, near Kirmanshah, where the late Muhammed-'Ali-Mirza caused himself to be represented, surrounded by his courtiers, above one of the ancient sculptures of the Royal chase.

There is a copious spring of water in this mountain,† which discharges itself into a lake at some distance to the left of the road.

I had sent my guide on before to prepare a lodging for us at Kazerún, whilst our little party, consisting of myself and my two servants,

* Timur Mirza was one of the Persian princes who visited England in 1839.

† Mr. Ainsworth supposes that the waters of the river of Desht-Arjan, which have no visible outlet, may find their vent at this spot. See his "Researches in Assyria," &c., p. 230.

advanced leisurely, the horses of the latter being quite knocked up. But this slow pace could not suit me long, and, setting my steed into an easy trot, I soon lost sight of them. As long as it was light I did not care, but when it grew dusky, and still no sign of the town appeared, I halted and got off my horse, in the expectation that my fellow-travellers would soon come up. The time, however, waxed late without their making their appearance. The sun had already set, and night was creeping with its lengthened shadows over the earth. I recollected this was generally the time for prowling beasts to quit their hiding-places and approach villages and towns in quest of prey, and as there are lions and leopards in the plain of Kazerún, I did not feel myself quite safe, sitting alone on a heap of stones in the middle of the plain. I therefore got on horseback, and pursued my way, half bent from the saddle, with my eyes fixed on the ground, in order not to miss the beaten track. It had now become pitch-dark, and still

no sounds were heard denoting the near habitations of man, nor were any lights discernible in the distance. All on a sudden my horse started, and nearly brought me down. Something had swiftly crossed the path close in front of the horse, which set off in a gallop—perhaps the spur had done its duty, by an instinctive pressure of the leg. The dingling of a bell soon greeted my ear; no music could have proved more pleasant at that moment, and after a few minutes' ride in the direction from whence the sounds came, I joined a party of Chalvadars (Persian muleteers) driving along several strings of camels, loaded with cut straw, which is stuffed into net bags and thrown over their backs. Luckily the men were proceeding to Kazerún, which was still at some distance. As we approached, a horseman came to meet me on behalf of the chief of the place to show me the way to my lodging, where I soon alighted, fatigued and bruised all over, having made that day upwards of nine farsangs, or forty-three miles,

on a jaded animal. My servants had had a still more tedious day of it, as they were obliged to dismount and lead their tired horses the latter part of the road. They did not reach Kazerún until late at night.

CHAPTER IX.

Description of Kazerún.—Valley of Kazerún.—Gilevand guides.—Ruins of Shapúr.—Mamaseni encampment of the Dushmen-Ziyari tribe.—Scene on arriving there.—Vanity of earthly grandeur.—Visit the cave of Shapúr.—Giveh, sort of sandals worn by the mountaineers.—View from the entrance of the cave of the adjacent country.—Valley of Kuh-Mereh or Dasht-i-Ber.—Course of the Shapúr river.—Encampment of Jehangir-Khan, a Mamaseni chief.—I am passed on from one chief to another in return for a written certificate.—Chenoshejan.—Winter residence of the Dushmen-Ziyari Mamaseni.—Circuitous road for wheeled carriages to avoid the Kutel-i-Dokhter.—Quit Chenoshejan.—Mune-nahl.—Lurking-place of the marauding mountaineers.—Proof of the unsettled state of the country.—Sahrai-Bahram.—Sculptures in the rock.—River of Behram.—Ruins of Nobenjan.—The fort of Núrabad.—Residence of the Bekesh Mamaseni.—Kal'eh-Sefid.—My new Bekesh guides.—Turaj birds.—Valley of Sha'b-bevan.—Fields of Narcissuses.—Arrival at Fahliyan.

JANUARY 20.—The next morning, while preparations were making, and the horses were

being saddled for our departure, I ascended the terraced roof of my lodging in order to obtain a view of the town.

Kazerún stands in a plain, and must formerly have been of some extent; but it is at present in a very dilapidated state, owing in a great measure to an earthquake, but partly to the ravages of war. The buildings are of stone, joined together with white cement; and the walls of most of the houses are whitewashed, which imparts to the town a very clean appearance, unlike the generality of Persian cities. This reminded me of the neat white habitations of the peasantry in Little Russia, or the Ukraïne; and I learn that similar hamlets form the characteristic of Wales and the south-west parts of Hampshire. In nearly every yard there are palm-trees, a feature quite peculiar to Kazerún, which is the first place to the west of Shiráz where the palm prospers.

Independently of the Muhammedan population, which may amount to a few thousand souls, Kazerún contains about forty houses

belonging to the Jews, but it has no Armenian inhabitants.

The present chief of the place is of Turkish extraction, by name Muhammed Hasan-Khan, from Tabriz, a sartip or general in the service of the Shah, and has under his command a regiment of infantry, composed of 400 men from Faraghún, Kesoz, and Meloïr, with two field-pieces, and forty or fifty well-appointed cavalry.

On obtaining from Muhammed Hasan Khan four well mounted armed men, we left the town and proceeded in a northern direction, along the plain of Kazerún, having the range of the Kutel-i-Dokhter to our right, and that of Kumarij to the left. Near the foot of the latter mountain several villages were discernible, viz., *Kasekún*, *Kal'eh Sayid*, *and Riza-Khan*. Not far from the latter we passed considerable ruins, many grave-stones, and several water-courses. This spot is half-way between Kazerún and the village of *Diriz;* but as we were hurrying onward, I could not stop to examine

these remains. From *Diriz*, which is probably one and a half farsang N.N.W. from Kazerún, we arrived at Taleghún, one farsang further to the north. This miserable village is the winter residence, or *Kishlak*, of the Gilevand tribe, and is well guarded against all surprise by a troop of fierce shaggy dogs, which came out to meet us with loud barking and other demonstrations of no very friendly nature. (A very fine specimen of this species of Persian shepherd dog is exhibited in the Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park.)

The Gulams of Muhammed Hasan Khan handed me over to a dozen of the Gilevand tufengchi (musketeers), who were to conduct me into the country of the Mamaseni; and protect me, moreover, on the road against the assaults of those rough mountaineers themselves should they prove troublesome.

The plain of Kazerún, which runs up to the Shapúr river in a northern direction, may be two farsangs in width by three in length, and is well cultivated. On approaching the

ruins of Shapúr, the country becomes more wild, and is covered with brush-wood and clusters of trees, among which the Gerchek (Rhicinus Palma Christi, from which castor-oil is extracted), grows wild, and, instead of being a plant, resembles a moderate-sized tree, from twelve to fourteen feet in height.

Diverging from our northern direction, we now moved towards N.N.E., and, on nearing the mountains, passed close to a tank of clear spring water, covered in several places with reeds and other water plants, shaded by tall trees. The borders of this basin are partly inlaid with large blocks of polished granite, of very good workmanship, resembling in nature the stones of the square building that M. Morier speaks of among the ruins of Shapúr. I could not stop to examine with attention the ruins of the latter, scattered over the plain, and concealed by rich, luxuriant, and even rank vegetation; nor could I spare time for a careful sketch of the bas-reliefs on the porphyry sides of the rocks at the entrance of the valley of Shapúr, as my guides seemed

very reluctant to remain exposed to the sharp and cold wind which blew from the defile. I consoled myself with the idea that these ruins have already been described by several European travellers,* and that they had been very lately visited by two eminent French artists, MM. Flandin and Coste; the one as a painter, and the other an architect, who will probably soon enrich the domains of science by offering to the world their splendid portfolios on the ancient monuments of Persia.

I shall, therefore, content myself for the present, by observing that the valley of Shapúr possesses six distinct bas-reliefs, of which two are sculptured on the rock on the left bank of the Shapúr river, and four on the opposite right bank. They resemble the style of the sculptures at Nakshi-Rustam and Nakshi-Kejeb, near Persepolis; but the workmanship is not everywhere equal, and appears to have been performed by different hands, and very pro-

* Morier's "First and Second Journey through Persia," &c., and Sir William Ouseley's "Travels in Various Countries of the East."

bably at different periods. Much, likewise, must have depended on the nature of the rock out of which they are hewn. For a detailed description of these sculptures I refer the reader to Professor Ritter's valuable work,* or Mr. Morier's,† and Sir W. Ouseley's "Travels;" ‡ and shall only observe, that the second tablet on the left bank, on entering the valley from the west, is more artistically finished than the rest. It is supposed to represent the triumph of Shapúr I. over the Emperor Valerian, though the vanquished monarch appears rather too young a man for Valerian, who, according to history, was about seventy years old at the time Shapúr took him prisoner at Edesse. §

On the opposite side of the river, at the

* See C. Ritter's. "Erdkunde von Asien," vol. viii., p. 827, and following.

† Morier's "First Journey through Persia," &c., p. 86, and following.

‡ Sir William Ouseley's "Travels," vol, i., chap. vi., p. 279, and the following.

§ See Gibbon on the "Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire," &c., chap. x., and Note 63.

foot of the other four sculptures, is a canal cut in the rock, along which I was obliged to proceed, in order to pass from one tablet to the other, crawling and squeezing myself through several places where the passages of the canal are narrow, and scooped deep into the rock; for the bas-reliefs are at some height above the bed of the river, and the banks are too steep and overgrown with willows, to allow any other mode of approach.

I learned from my native guides, that some years ago the famous robber of the Mamaseni, Veli-Khan, had found among the ruins of the fort, on the summit of the hill which commands the pass, a considerable treasure, consisting of gold coins, with figures on them, resembling those on the bas-reliefs, (consequently of the Sasanian period,) and that he had them melted, and made into an ornamental chain, attached to the bridle of his horse.

On arriving at a Mamaseni encampment of the Dushmen-Ziyari tribe, we found in it women and children only. These, together with their

dogs set up a loud noise, and protested vehemently against our taking up our quarters there for the night. It was with some difficulty we could make the former understand that there was nothing to fear, as they would be paid for the food we required for our party and the provender for the cattle.

At last they ceded and cleared out for me a hovel into which I retired. The lower part of it consisted of raised earth, over which a black awning (being the tent of the Iliyats) rested on two poles. Such is the usual dwelling of the Nomades in their *Germesir* or winter encampments. Some coarse wheaten bread and sheep's milk were first procured, and afterwards a kid roasted on a spike, which proved very welcome. Little by little the shrill voices of the females abated, the cries of the children ceased, the barking and yelping of the dogs died away,—all was hushed in sleep, "and silent night stole softly over the landscape." I sat up during the greater part of the night arranging my notes and writing letters to my

friends, as I had now entered on a seldom trodden ground, and was about to travel among a wild and unruly race of men, the Mamaseni, the Khogilú, and Bakhtiyar mountain tribes.

The locality itself was a fit spot for meditation. It was in the same valley with, and not far distant from, the ruins of Shapúr, the once lovely and favoured residence of the proud Sasanian monarchs. It was on the granite of these rocks that the haughty Shapúr had bequeathed to posterity his own fame and the shame of Rome! But while history records the triumphs of a barbarian monarch, and the humiliation of the once mighty mistress of the world, the moralist ponders over the strange vicissitudes of men and empires, over sceptres broken, over power gone, over victors and victims crumbling together in the same dust of ages.

This universal annihilation of all earthly pursuits, however lofty and however vast, would offer a melancholy, discouraging, nay, revolting prospect, to the thinking mind, did

not revealed religion step forth and "vindicate the ways of God to man," by pointing at the immortality of our souls and chastening the proud spirit of the creature by the eternal truth, that God alone is great.

With the dawn of day my guides were ready to conduct me to a natural cave high up in the mountain, where a colossal statue was to be seen. We ascended with difficulty a very steep and craggy hill, parts of which were so slippery that I was obliged to take off my boots and scramble on all fours, and in other places to be drawn up, where the nature of the ground was too abrupt for me to climb. I could not help admiring the agility with which my guides jumped from rock to rock, like mountain-goats, with the same assurance and *nonchalance* as if they were walking over level ground. The mountaineers of Persia generally wear a sort of *sandal*, with the point turned up to preserve their toes from prickly and thorny shrubs which grow on the mountains. They call

them *Giveh*. The part of the sandal covering the sides of the foot is knitted with thick twisted cotton, very elastic. The sole, instead of being made of one piece of leather, consists of short straps of raw bullock's hide, closely sewn together. It is surprising how lasting they are, and how well adapted to climbing up or descending steep hills: they also prevent the foot from slipping.

We at length reached the mouth of the cave. The entrance, as well as the interior, is spacious. A colossal figure was lying before us, with the head half buried in the ground and the heels up, or, rather, the remaining stumps of the feet: while on a huge stone, which had formed the pedestal, still rest the feet, covered by sandals. I suspect that the figure must have reached the ceiling, as there is something projecting from it, just over the pedestal and the whole probably formed once a natural column, supporting the dome of the cave before the pillar was sculptured to represent, as is supposed, the figure of Shapúr.

The arms are likewise broken, and I had to remove some earth before I could ascertain what sort of *tiara* crowned the head.

Whilst the guides were busy in preparing the torches and dipping them into naphtha, which I had the precaution to take with me from Kazerún at the suggestion of a young French traveller, Le Vicomte de Sivrac, whom I had previously met at Isfahan, I took a sketch of the figure, after which we went to explore the dark mazes of the labyrinth. We went from one chamber to another, some connected by broad, others by narrow passages; long stalactites tapering downwards hung from the ceiling. The glaring light of our torches shone at times on the white lime walls. In other places they were of a yellowish hue, with dark streaks and mouldy patches produced by the water oozing through the fissures, and the general dampness of these subterranean mansions. I wished much to get to the end of the grotto, but my guides assured me very seriously that it had none; that even Veli-Khan, the

modern Rustam of the Mamaseni, had once ventured far into the bowels of the mountain; that he came into a spacious hall, through which a subterraneous river flows, and spent the night carousing there with his friends; but that no one had gone beyond, and, in fact, that no one could.

This would not have proved a sufficient argument to dissuade me from venturing further, had not a stronger motive induced us to retrace our steps.

As our footing was far from being sure, and we were continually stumbling over uneven ground, or getting into pools of water, the guides had lost or wetted many of their tapers, and our stock of rags for making new torches was nearly exhausted. So, making a virtue of necessity, we retreated, frightening by the way swarms of wild pigeons which nestle in the walls of these lofty grottoes.

On quitting the cave, I gazed some time on the beautiful scenery around me. As the cavern is at a considerable elevation up the hill,

I could command a vast horizon, and truly it was a splendid sight. Three parallel chains of mountains, intersected by broad valleys recede towards the south, as far as the eye can follow them.* The craggy heights of the Pir-i-Zen like the ribs of a giant, covered partly with snow, project to the left, while the lofty Kumarij separating the plain of the same name from that of Kazerún, extend in an opposite direction. Between the two, and facing the entrance of the grotto, rises the rugged and precipitous Kútel-i-Dokhter; below spreads the lovely valley

* They attain the Persian Gulf, and form part of that great chain of mountains which Moore has so poetically described in his Fire Worshippers :—

"There stood—but one short league away
From old Harmozia's sultry bay—
A rocky mountain ; o'er the sea
Of Omar beetling awfully,
A last and solitary link
Of those stupendous chains that reach
From the broad Caspian's reedy brink,
Down winding to the green sea beach."

—Poem of the Fire Worshippers, in Moore's "*Lalla-Rookh*," p. 208.

of Shapúr, hemmed in between craggy rocks, the river Shapúr (probably the Granis of Nearchus), issuing from the Pir-i-Zen is seen wandering through the vale, at times nearly choked by long elastic reeds that wave gracefully in the air, or shaded by the willow; at others, blending its blue waters with the green verdure of its banks, for, although we were then in the month of January, nature appeared fresh, and had lost few of its charms. We then descended into the valley, at ten a.m., and followed the course of the river of Shapúr upwards, in an E.N.E. direction. The stream is here almost choked up with rushes and other aquatic plants.

At a quarter to eleven we entered the valley of Kúh-mereh, or Desht-i-Ber, and turned north. This valley is between the chains of mountains called Pir-i-Zen and Kútel-i-Dokhter, and may be a farsang or a farsang and a-half in width. It is the same valley that is crossed in going from Shiráz to Kazerún, near Miyaneh-Kútel, about five farsangs (about

twenty miles) to the S.S.E. of the place where we now were. I took the direction of the river of Shapúr. It comes from the chain of Pir-i-Zen, which is here east to south, and after traversing the valley of Kúh-mereh, forces a passage through the Kútel-i-Dokhter, near the bas-reliefs of Shapúr, waters the beautiful plains of Kazerún, and is lost behind the mountains of Kumarij. The villages of Nudúr and Sumgúl, belonging to the district of Kazerún, are in the mountains to the east. At a quarter past eleven we turned a little to the north-west, and at noon reached the encampment of Jehangir-Khan, Mamaseni Chief of the tribe of Dushmen-Ziyari. This encampment ground is called Chenoshejan.

My guides from Kazerún delivered me over to the Chief, and received from him a certificate of my having arrived safe and sound in his tent, and quitted me. I adopted the method of causing myself to be passed, like a bale of goods, from hand to hand, during the whole of my journey through this wild tract of country, and had every reason to be satisfied

with the effect of this precaution, which made the last person who had given a certificate of my being alive responsible for my safety.

The residence of Jehangir Khan consisted of a square tower constructed of clay, white-washed externally, furnished with loop-holes, and surrounded by huts of the Mamaseni, made of reeds, and by black tents covered with mats. The Dushmen-Ziyari, since the death of their principal Chief, Muhammed Riza Khan, executed at Shiráz in 1840, by order of its then Governor, Prince Feridún Mirza, form three divisions, one under the command of Jehangir Khan, another under that of Hajji Husein Khan, and the third under the orders of Aga-Khan, son of the late Chief.

Chenoshejan, which formed the Germesir or winter quarters of Muhammed Riza Khan, is a plain of considerable extent, which is bounded on the east by the prolongation of the Pir-i-Zen, from north to west by an offset of the same chain, and on the south by the termination of the Kútel-i-Dokhter.

The following circuit may be made on the road from Shiráz to Bu-shehr, in order to avoid the descent of that pass, which is terrible for a train of artillery. On descending Pir-i-Zen, turn to the right through the valley of Deshtiber. (Abdui in Ainsworth, from a village of that name), cross the plain of Chenoshejan which communicates with it, and thence pass into that of Shapúr, which forms a part of the vale of Khazerún. This circuitous road has the shape of a horse shoe, and presents no obstacles for the transit of baggage, but it is twelve farsangs (about forty-five miles) in length, while the other is only about four or five farsangs (fifteen or sixteen miles).

In the valleys, as well as on the sides of the mountains, we find the balút, a species of oak, the acorns of which are ground, and made into a paste, which is used for food by the Iliyats. The very steep summits of the Pir-i-Zen are all peaked, and beyond them to the east the chain of Adekán rears its snowy head.

On entering the country of the Mamaseni,

I cautioned my servants to keep a sharp eye over our things, as the natives are known to be notorious thieves, when they cannot indulge in open plunder. I was fortunate enough not to lose one single article, while travelling through this country, but I learned from a friend, who visited the encampment of Chenoshejan a few months later, that the Mamaseni contrived to steal from under his pillow, while he was asleep, his sword, which they drew cautiously out of the scabbard, leaving the latter behind.

Suspecting Jehangir Khan himself of the theft, yet admiring the clever way in which it had been committed, the European next morning handed over the scabbard to his host, observing that his newly-acquired sword probably required one. The Khan took it, and thanked him.

22d. On the following day I mounted my horse at seven, a.m., accompanied by twelve Iliyat tafengchi (musketeers), who were to escort me to the next station. The direction of the

road was north, till we had quitted the balút woods, and reached the heights of Múné-nahl, by a very stony road. This is the boundary of the district of Kazerún, which I had just quitted, and that of Fahliyán,* which I now entered. On descending from Múné-nahl, we entered a valley running to the N.N.E., and full of oaks, and passed a spring of fresh water, named Meïhur, on the left side of the road. I enter into these minute details, as this part of the country has not yet been described by any traveller. At a quarter before ten, a. m., we reached a bastengah, a promontory of the mountains, which was pointed out to me as marking the place where the Mamaseni and their neighbours, the Bovi of the Koghilú tribe, issue from their ambuscades to attack caravans. The place is very wild, and admirably adapted, it must be confessed, for this kind of sport. In the mountains on the right is the beautiful valley of Bum, with its vineyards and groves of pome-

* Fahliy*án*, pronounced Fahliy*ún*.

granates; while behind the mountains on the left, a contrast which nature often delights in forming, there is a desert tract called Mohúr, extending towards the Persian gulf, inhabited only by lions, wild boars, and antelopes.

In advancing we disturbed by our appearance several women and boys, employed in gathering the acorns from the ground, and who, as soon as they saw us from a distance, took to their heels. In vain we called out to them not to be afraid; the more noise we made, the faster the poor creatures ran; and they were at last lost sight of amid the thickets. This trifling incident was the best criterion by which I could judge of the unsettled state of the country through which I was passing.

At a quarter past eleven, a.m., we reached the plain of Sahraï Behram, at the entrance of which I found sculptured on a rock a bas-relief representing that prince, his face turned to the beholder, seated, with two erect figures on each side of him.

As a very short notice has been given of

this bas-relief by M. Kämpfer, the only European traveller, I believe, who makes mention of it as an eye-witness, I may give here a description of it.

Behram is recognised by the two-horned tiara on his head, with broad fillets floating over his shoulders, as is usual on monuments of the Sasanian kings. He has also the large head of curled hair which distinguishes the portraits of the sovereigns of that dynasty. The two figures on his left wear on their heads a kind of mitre, like the mobeds or high priests at Persepolis, and have beards. They are in profile, with their faces turned towards the king. The figure on the left holds in his hand a straight sword with the point towards the ground. Two figures on the right, also in profile, and turned towards Behram, have no beard, and wear caps such as are seen on some coins of the Arsacidæ. Their hands are joined together and raised up in a supplicating attitude. All the figures, except that of the prince, have full puckered

trousers. This is all that can be distinguished in these bas-reliefs; for unfortunately neither the hand of time nor that of the Arabs has respected this ancient monument. It should be observed, that the workmanship is much coarser than any met with at Nakshi-Rustám, Nakshi-Kejeb, and even than some at Shapúr. Perhaps the nature of the rock is in part the cause of this, or, it may be, that after the death of Shapúr the fine arts began to decline in Persia. There appeared to me some resemblance in the workmanship between the bas-reliefs of Nakshi-Behram and one of the tablets on the rock of Shapúr, namely, that in which the head of a dead man is brought to the king; but as I had taken no sketch of the latter, I was prevented from examining them more closely.

At the foot of the rock on which this sculpture is cut, is the source of the river of Behram, which runs towards the plain in a north-west direction, but, like that of Shapúr, is almost choked up with rushes. Nakshi-

Behram, surrounded by trees, water, and verdure, is a very picturesque spot. I stopped here to make a drawing of the bas-relief, and it was noon before I remounted my horse. Most of my guides quitted me at this place, because great hostility prevails between the Dushmen-Ziyari and the Bekesh, whose encampments we were now approaching. Only three of them ventured to accompany me, in order to carry back to their chief the usual certificate; but they left their arms with their comrades, by way of assuring their neighbours, if found on their precincts, that they did not come with any hostile intention. I, at the same time, made myself responsible for their sustaining no injury.

On quitting the rock of Nakshi-Behram the plain widens, and, after an hour's ride, we passed a sulphureous spring on the right side of the road near the mountains. At a quarter before two, p.m., we passed near the ruins of Nobendjan, formerly a flourishing city, at which Timúr halted before he laid siege to Kal'eh

Sefid (white castle). Nobendjan was built by Shapúr, destroyed by Abu Sa'id Kazruni, rebuilt by the Ja'uli Atabeg of Luri Buzúrg (Lur the Greater), to be again ruined.* Nothing now remains of it but heaps of stones and hillocks scattered over the plain ;—an eloquent commentary on the instability of human things, but wasted on the desert. Near these ruins is the source of a small stream which discharges itself into that of Behram.

At the distance of a quarter of an hour's march from the ruins of Nobendjan is the fort of Núrabád, built in the plain and flanked by four bastions. On every side of it are the reed-built huts and tents of the Mamaseni belonging to the tribe of Bekesh, whose chief is Murad-Khan. To the right of Núrabád there is a small Imam-Zadeh (sepulchre of a

* See "Collection Orientale Histoire des Mongols, par Reschid-ed-din," translated by M. Quatremère, note to page 383, extracted from the author of "Nozhat-al-Koloub," who mentions, among other things, that the inhabitants of *Nevbindjan* are intelligent and have some tendency to virtue.

saint), which has iron doors, and, on an eminence to the left, the remains of Old Núrabád.

The Sahraï Behram (plain of Behram) may be about three farsangs long from east to west, and two farsangs broad. Two farsangs or thereabouts, to the north-east, are the ruins of Kal'eh Sefid, so frequently mentioned by Persian poets and historians. The hill on which the citadel is built is completely isolated. It has a broad base, perhaps a farsang and a-half in diameter, and does not become steep till near its summit, where it presents an abrupt rampart, and its crest is said to be only accessible by one path. Being anxious to reach Fahliyán, I was not willing to go four farsangs (upwards of fifteen miles) out of my way to visit Kal'eh Sefid, which has already been described by Mr. Macdonald Kinneir.* My

* "*Kela Sufeed*," says Kinneir, "which is seventy miles from Shirauz, is a high hill, nearly perpendicular on all sides, and accessible only by three narrow pathways" (I was told there is only one path,) "known to the tribe of Mahmusunee, the hereditary lords of this impregnable castle. From the bottom to the summit, by the road we

new guides consisted of the eldest son of Murad-Khan, the chief of the Bekesh tribe, then absent, of Sherif-Khan, a lad ten years old, but much respected by his clan, as being the son of the famous Veli-Khan, the late celebrated robber among the Mamaseni, and of several other young men, well armed, on fine prancing horses, and who appeared to be not a little proud that they belonged to the Bekesh tribe. Vanity, pride, and ambition, lurk at the bottom of most of our actions.

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ascended, the distance is three miles, and it is possible to ride till within about five hundred yards of the top, when it is necessary to dismount, and scramble on foot over the rocks. The only fortifications of this extraordinary place are a line of huge stones, ranged in regular order, round the edges of the precipices. Each of these is wedged beneath by another of smaller dimensions, which, when removed, the large one is hurled in an instant from the top to the bottom, sweeping before it, with irresistible force, everything that tends to interrupt its course. The Kela Sufeed commands the high road to Shirauz. Its summit is about four miles in circumference, covered with verdure, and watered by upwards of forty springs." (See "Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire." p. 73.)

But what had my Bekesh friends to boast of? Why they were, or what is more, they thought themselves, stronger, and therefore better than their neighbours. The weaker submitted to their oppressions, and they defied their equals. But what deeds of valour had they achieved? Why they plundered on the highways, nor were the by-paths secure from their attacks. And yet they were proud of belonging to the tribe of the Bekesh, for it had gained some celebrity under the notorious freebooter, Veli-Khan, whose daring deeds had been commemorated in song as examples to follow, and who had raised his clan to that dizzy pinnacle from whence they looked down on their neighbours with contempt, and on themselves with complacency. Poor, wretched mortality! how perverse are thy ways, when left to walk in the evil imaginations of thine own heart!

They showed off their skill in horsemanship, and would have wished to impress me with the belief that they were good marks-

men; but as ill luck would have it, they regularly missed their aim.

From Núrabád the road passes northwards, first through the plain, and then along the heights, which separate the Sahraï-Behram from Sha'b-bevân.

The thickets of box on the plain afford shelter to wild boars, pheasants, and the *turaj*. This bird is smaller than the pheasant, and is black, with white spots. Its meat is as tender as that of the pheasant, and of a superior flavour. I have found these birds in the Valley of Gurgan, in Turcomania, and in the Russian province of Karabagh, as well as in Kabardah, to the north of the great chain of Caucasus.

At half-past two, p.m., having reached the culminating point of the mountain, I looked down upon the beautiful valley which discloses itself beneath, watered by a river, and enamelled with flowers. I did not expect to find so many in bloom in the month of January. To the north two ranges of hills

rise in the form of an amphitheatre; the foremost bend towards the east, and almost touch Kal'eh Sefid, being separated from it only by the defile, through which the river Shéker-ab, or Ab-Shúr, coming from Ardekán, forces its way, while the more distant and snow-covered hills pass behind Kal'eh Sefid, and afterwards unite with Pir-i-Zen. At the height of Munénahl they turn abruptly to the east, in the direction of Shiráz.

While descending into the valley, my sense of smell was agreeably affected by the perfume of the narcissus, spread like a white carpet over the field, for the space of many miles. All our party pushed into this rich parterre up to their horses' girths, to enjoy the fragrance as much as possible. For my own part, I felt at first some scruples at thus treading down these beautiful and delicate productions of nature; but I ended by doing as the others did, so easy is it to yield to a seductive example. This is not an exaggerated description of the charms of Sha'b-bevan, which is said by

the Arabian and Persian poets to be one of the four terrestrial paradises.

This valley is interspersed with cultivated fields, which produce cotton, rice, barley, and wheat; but wherever the ground is left fallow, the narcissus resumes its empire, and seems to have fixed on Sha'b-bevân, and on the plains of Behbehân, as its favourite places of abode.

We followed the valley in a N.N.W. direction, and at a quarter before four, p.m., reached Fahliyân, situated at the northern base of the connecting range of hills which we had crossed in coming from Núrabád. We made this day between seven and eight farsangs, in a northerly direction.

CHAPTER X.

Description of Fahliyán.—Cultivation of the soil.—Taxation.—Visit an Imam-Zadeh.—Description of the plain of Fahliyán.—Extract from M. Quatremère on Sha'b-beván.—Remarks thereon.—Enter the territory of the Rustemi Mamaseni.—Course of the river Ab-Shúr, or Sheker-ab.—The valley of Ser-ab-Siyah.—Rencontre with the Rustemi Chief.—Unlucky display of horsemanship.—Pass the Ab-Shúr, and enter the Khogilú territory.—Reception at Basht by Allah-Kerim-Khan, Chief of the Bovi tribe.—General character of the Iliyat Chiefs.—Resume my journey.—Travelling Iliyats.—Karavanserai of Daghun-Bezúm.—Pass the night under arms.—Cross the rivers of Shem-si-Arab and Kheirabod.—Hindian.—Arrive at Behbehán.

FAHLIYAN is a little paltry town, of at most sixty or seventy houses. It is, nevertheless, enclosed by extensive walls, now in ruins, from which it is evident that it was formerly not quite so insignificant. In the time of the Sefeviyeh dynasty it had 5,000 inhabitants, a mosque, and four public baths; at least such was the

information I received from my officious host, who was very anxious that I should not judge of Fahliyán as it is in its present fallen state, but as it was in the days of its prosperity. The district of Fahliyán once extended from Munenahl on the south to Basht on the north-west, and from Ardekán on the east and north-east to Khisht on the south-west. The Mamaseni have by degrees made themselves masters of almost all the arable land formerly possessed by the inhabitants of Fahliyán, who complain bitterly of the exactions to which they are continually subjected. The town is supplied with water by a canal running along the hills from the snow-capped chain beyond Kal'eh Sefid, for a distance, perhaps, of four farsangs (fourteen miles). The water of the Ab-Shúr being, as its name implies, brackish, it can only be used for irrigating the fields. The soil is here very fertile, and water abundant; but hands are wanting for the cultivation of the land. The fields, artificially irrigated (a process described by the Persian word, Feryab), yield

from twenty-five to forty for one in the winter crops: the proportion is lower in the lands called *deïm*, or *bakhs*, i.e., fields watered only by rain and dew, and not artificially irrigated. Rice, which is sown, yields less than that which is planted, the crop, in good years, being in proportion to the seed as 150 to one. Sesamum (kunjud) is also cultivated here, and returns 100 for one.

Fahliyán is surrounded by fine palm-trees, and has a fort, in ruins, on the summit of a small hill. As a lofty and precipitous mountain rises close behind it, the inhabitants of the town receive only the rays of the morning sun, and are the rest of the day in shade.*

* By not paying due attention to the position of Fahliyán I was led into a mistaken notion that the heats there in summer must be intolerable, owing to the refraction of the sun's rays from the mountain which overhangs the town.

See my notes on a journey through the Mamaseni Khogilú and Bakhtiyar countries, in vol. xiii. of the "Royal Geographical Society of London," for the year 1843, p. 80.

The duties paid by Fahliyán to the Governor of the province of Fars do not exceed 1,000 tomans (about 480*l.*).

I gathered most of my information from Mirzá-Abú'l Kasim, governor of the town, and from his younger brother, both of whom, with several Mullahs, came to see me as soon as I was quartered in the house of the chief.

On the 23d, having been informed that there were some ancient inscriptions lately discovered in the neighbourhood, I went to see them, accompanied by the brother of Mirzá-Abú'l Kasim. Our route lay to the north-east, and after fording the Ab-Shúr, we reached, at the end of an hour's ride, the Imam-Zadeh of Shah-Abdullah, where I found nothing but some fragments of white stone with a few Cufic inscriptions, although my guide, as well as the guardian of the place, was very desirous that I should give my corroborative evidence as to the sanctity of the spot, probably calculating on the profits they might reap from the credulity

of the ignorant devotees who would come in pilgrimage to the shrine of the new saint.

This Imam-Zadeh stands near an isolated hill called Kal'eh-Siyáh (black castle), the counterpart of Kal'eh-Sefid (white castle).

Having mounted again at eight, a.m., I crossed some well-cultivated fields in a W. by W.N.W. direction.

At nine, a.m., I passed the ruins of Chehár-Basar, a town one farsang north of Fahliyán. Farther on is the Tepeh, or hillock of Senjar-Muhammed Belúj, on which the chief so named made a stand against Nadir-Shah,* for which piece of temerity, on the return of that conqueror from Bagdad, he forfeited his head.

Before you leave the plain of Fahliyán, which is a continuation of the valley of Sha'b-Beván, we shall quote the passage of M. de Quatremère, inserted in his notes on the history of the

* "This Muhammed Khan-Baloochy took up the cause of Tamasp-Shah, whom Nadir had destituted; but he was defeated, with his 30,000 Beloochis, by Nadir, in Fars, and executed." (See Sir H. Jones Bridges' preliminary matter to the history of the Kajars.)

Mogols, by Reshid-ed-Din, in which the celebrated French author gives us an interesting account of Sha'b-Bevân and Nobendján from Arab and Persian sources:—

"L'Auteur du Nozhat-el-Koloub" says the author (MS. Pers. 139, page 660), "aprés avoir parlé du Kalaï-Sefid ou Kalaï-Esfid-diz, ajoute:

"Le Vallon de *Bawan* que l'on compte parmi les lieux de plaisance les plus célèbres qui existent au monde, est une vallée située entre deux montagnes. Elle a trois farsangs de longueur, et une et demie de largeur. Tout cet espace est couvert d'arbres qui produisent toutes espèces de fruits. L'air y est extrêmement pur et tempéré. On y voit un grand nombre de villages. Au milieu de la vallée coule une grande riviére. Les montagnes qui entourent ce terrain ont presque toute l'année, leur sommet couvert de neige. Partout les arbres sont si pressés que les rayons du soleil ne sauraient pénétrer jusqu' à terre. On y trouve de tous côtés des sources nombreuses, des eaux limpides.

Du territoire de Newbindjan dépendent plusieurs lieux situés les uns en plaine d'autres sur des montagnes; Kalaï-Sefid est à une farsang de cette ville. Le territoire de Newbindjan offre une quantité immense de gibier. Le même Géographe ajoute que de Shiráz à Newbindjan la distance est de vingt-cinq farsangs, et de Newbindjan à Arradjan de trente-trois farsangs.

"L'Auteur du Lexique Géographique Arabe, (p. 665,) parlant de la ville de Newbindjan qu'il place dans le district de Schapour évalue à vingt-six farsangs la distance de cette ville à Aradjan.

"Nous apprenons par un passage du Kemal-Ebn-Athir, (tom iii. fol. 181,) que la température de ce lieu était extrêmement chaude et fort malsaine. Mirkhond rapporte, (iv. partie fol. 147,) que les habitants du vallon de Bawan, avaient pris les armes contre le Khan mongol Melik-Aschref, et qui s'étant refugiés dans une caverne, le Prince fit allumer à l'entrée de cette ouverture un feu immense afin d'étouffer ceux qui étaient renfermés, &c."*

* See Collection Orientale.

The extent given to the valley of Sha'b-Bevan coincides with the distances as laid down on the map of my route; the length of the valley from the foot of Kal'eh-Sefid on the east, to the entry into that of Ser-abi-Siyah on the west, not exceeding three farsangs, whilst its width in the broadest part of the valley near Fahliyán is not more than one and a-half farsang.

Sha'b-Beván abounds in water, and the Ab-Shúr, a considerable stream, flows through the whole length of this valley, the waters of which contribute to the fertility of its rich soil. The snowy heights of the Ardekán mountains are seen towering above the secondary range of hills to the north and east of Fahliyán, but the ridge which separates the valley of Sha'b-Beván from Nobendján to the south, was not covered with snow in the month of January. Neither did I find there that quantity of trees, of which the Arab geographer speaks as preventing the rays of the sun from penetrating through: on the contrary, I found that there were none, or very few. But this is not surprising, nor is it the

only instance where groves have disappeared in Persia with the annihilation or diminution of the inhabitants. Arrian, in his history of the expedition of Alexander, speaks of the shady groves which encompassed the tomb of Cyrus, and if Meshedi Madri Soleyman represents the mausoleum of the Persian King, of which there appears to be little doubt,* there is not one single tree left, nor any to be seen in the whole plain of Múrgab. In Europe,

* Description of the tomb of Cyrus in Buchon's French translation of Arrian :—

"Une des choses qui affecta le plus Alexandre, fut la violation du tombeau de Cyrus, qu'on avait forcé et dépouillé.—C'est au centre des jardins royaux de Pasagardes que s'élevait ce tombeau *entouré de bois touffus*, d'eaux vives et de gazons épuis; c'était un édifice dont la base, assise carrément sur de grandes pierres, soutenait une voute sous la quelle on entrait avec peine par une très petite porte. On y conservait le corps de Cyrus dans une arche d'or massif couvert des plus riches tissus, de l'art babylonien, de tapis de pourpre, du manteau royal, de la partie inferieux de l'habillement des Mèdes, de robes de diverses couleurs, de pourpre et d'hyacinte, de colliers, de cimeterres, de bracelets, de pendants en pierreries et en or. On y voyait aussi une table, l'arche funéraire occupait le centre. Des

forests disappear with the progress of civilization and the increase of population. It is not so in Persia.

But to resume our journey. At ten o'clock, a.m., the hills appeared close to the road, which here forms the boundary between the district of Fahliyán and the territories of the Mamaseni of the tribe of Rustem. The river Ab-Shúr had remained behind us, running in a south-west direction. The Ab-Shúr, or Sheker-ab, rises in the snowy mountains of Ardekán to the east, and north-east of Kal'eh Sefid, and passes through the valley of Sha'b-Beván, winding from east to west. It then forces its way

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degrès intérieurs conduisaient à une cellule occupée par les mages dont la famille avait conservé depuis la mort de Cyrus, le privilége de garder son corps.

"Le roi leur fournissait tous les jours un mouton, et une certaine quantité de farine et de vin, et tous les mois un cheval qu'ils sacrifiaient sur le tombeau. On y lisait cette inscription en caractères persans.

"Mortel, je suis Cyrus, fils de Cambyse; j'ai fondé l'Empire des Perses et commandé a l'Asie; ne m'envie point ce tombeau." (Liv. vi. c. viii.)

through the hills to the south-west of Fahliyán, and having joined the river of Behram, crosses the wild tract called Mohúr, and discharges its waters into the Persian Gulf, at, I believe, Bender-Rig.*

The Ab-shúr is not fordable everywhere; and the ruins of a bridge over it are still to be seen near Kal'eh-Siyah. Its water, as has been already mentioned, is brackish.

At ten, a.m., we entered the valley of Ser-Abi-Siyah, (Black water head,) lying between two parallel chains of hills. At first it is well cultivated; but further on it is covered with high grass, and becomes a mere swamp, which abounds in game. Many springs here burst forth from the ground and the rocks. There are roads along the base of the hills on either side of the valley. I chose that on the left, as being the shortest; but when the brother of Khan-Ali-Khan, chief of the Rustemi, met us, (about eleven, a.m.,) he per-

* Perhaps the Rhogonis of Nearchus (Arrian's Indica, vol. xxxix. p. 355, Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus, p. 370).

suaded me to cross over to the other side, pretending that the road on the right was the better of the two. Probably he expected to meet his brother on that side. Khan-Áli-Khan soon made his appearance, accompanied by a crowd of men on horseback, all well armed and mounted. This parade was intended, no doubt, to convince the Frengi of the importance of the chief, and of the strength of his tribe. The Persians are great braggarts.

After the usual salutations, we alighted. My travelling carpet was spread on the ground, near a small imam-zadeh, and a cold fowl with pillau set before me. This simple fare did not tempt the Mamaseni chief, as he sat opposite to me, surrounded by his numerous retinue; but there was one thing on which he fixed his longing eye, and that was, a bottle of red Shiráz wine. I own I felt very reluctant to part with it, for it was the last, and I had a long journey to perform before I could expect to obtain a fresh supply; at all events, not before reaching Isfahan; nor could I reckon

on such good wine, as the bottle before me was of the best *hulari.** While these selfish ideas were revolving in my mind, probably no less egotistical feelings prompted my neighbour to stretch out his hand and lay hold of the bottle, adding, that he wished to drink to my good health. "*Bo Salumeti shuma, Sahib*"—(To your good health, Sir). Thus he went on, quaffing one glass after another with the same good wishes, until the whole had disappeared.

I hinted once, while the work of devastation was going on, that the wine was very strong, and might, perhaps, affect his head. That, he said, was its best recommendation. When we rose to mount our horses, I found my prediction correct, for Khan-Ali-Khan soon began to roll in his saddle. He had previously insisted that I should stop a few days with him, and seemed rather piqued when I

* A mountainous district near Shiráz, with fine vineyards, from which the choicest Persian wine is prepared, both red and white. This wine has much body, and resembles the strong Cape wines, and is fit to be exported.

declined the offer. His adherents and my friends of Fahilyán laboured hard to make me understand that the Khan was not a man to be refused; a truth they probably knew to their cost, as I had already heard at Shiráz, that Khan-Ali-Khan bears no good character, and rules over that part of the country with a despotic sway. I told them I should feel very sorry to give offence to any one, much less to the Khan who had kindly invited me to be his guest; but I had settled in my mind to proceed that night to Basht, a fort in the Koghilú country, and thither I would go. This reply did not satisfy the chief, who would not give up the point. When, however, the fumes of the Shiráz wine had taken possession of his brain, his ideas took a new turn, or what is more likely, the former ones became bewildered.

We crossed many springs bursting out almost under our feet, and soon afterwards augmenting the volume of the neighbouring lakes and pools, which appear to have no outlet, and are very

deep. The reeds and grass which cover these marshes are said to be the hiding-places of many lions, wild boars, and buffaloes, as well as the cover for vast quantities of game and all sorts of water-fowl.

When we entered upon more open and level ground the Rustemi showed off their feats of horsemanship; the Chief's son, a little boy of nine years old, joining the rest. But unfortunately the big horse he was mounted on starting with the others for a race, gave so great a jerk that it lifted him from the saddle, and throwing him over the back of the animal, brought him down to the ground. His Lálá (or tutor) sprang forward to his assistance and picked him up. The boy was much bruised, and bled from the nose, but happily no limb was fractured, and after a short time he was replaced on his horse. The father seemed more displeased with the fall, than anxious about the state of the child, who seemed very much inclined to cry, but durst not. Another similar accident befell

one of his men, who, in full career, tumbled with his horse, and came with his head against a sharp stone. It was some time before the poor man could be brought to his senses, and the cut in his head was no trifling one. These two instances prove that if the Rustemi are daring, they are by no means skilful horsemen.

Before we separated, Khan-Ali-Khan showed me an imam-zadeh near the road, beside which there was a grave-stone, bearing a Cufic inscription; a proof that this tract was formerly under Arab sway. On quitting him, I forded the river *Shir*, or *Abi-Sha'-ab*, one of the streams mentioned by Sherif-ed-din, in his account of Timur's march.* It comes from a valley lying to the north, where the Rustemi Chief encamps, and takes a south-west direction, leaving on the left the large village of Ser-Abi-Siyah, with a fort on a hill, where Ali-Veis-Khan, the supreme Chief of the Rustemi or-

* "Histoire de Timur-bec," par Petit de la Croix, vol. ii. p. 186.

dinarily resides: when I passed he was at Shiráz.

The Ab-Shir is the boundary between the Mamaseni and the Koghilú; but there is also a strip of neutral ground between them. Half an hour further on, still in a westerly direction, we came to a Kutel, or "Steep Hill;" after which, bending a little towards W.S.W., we crossed the dry bed of a stream, entered the julgheh or valley of Basht, and, at a quarter before six, p.m., reached Basht. We were met, at some distance from the fort, by Allah-Kérim-Khan, who was then acting as Chief of the Bovi, a tribe of the Khogilú, during the absence of his father, Sherif-Khan.

Basht resembles the castles of the old feudal barons in Europe. It consists of the Chief's fort, enclosed by high walls, and flanked with turrets. All around are groups of the habitations of his vassals, who live under the shadow of his protection, and furnish him with the means of resisting his enemies.

I found my host, Allah-Kerim-Khan, very

hospitable and communicative. When he came with his son to pay me a visit, the latter remained standing at the door, with his right arm resting on the hilt of his hanjar (dagger), stuck in his girdle, and it was not until I requested his father to give him leave to take a seat, that the young man changed his position. Such is the external respect observed in Persia by children towards their parents; and this custom is of great antiquity.

Allah-Kérim-Khan entertained me till a late hour with the history of the implacable feuds by which the mountaineers are divided, and the intestine wars to which these feuds give rise.

I may remark, by the way, that in my frequent intercourse with the migratory hordes in Persia, I generally found their character marked by much frankness, mixed up with a great deal of cunning. These qualities may appear, at first sight, incompatible with each other, but this extraordinary combination of opposite elements may be accounted for, partly by the

simple and patriarchal life which these Chiefs lead in the bosom of their families, and partly by the necessity which they are under of being constantly on their guard, in order to defeat the machinations of their adversaries, or from their own inclination to encroach upon their neighbours' property.

24th. On quitting Basht, at a quarter before eight in the morning, we first mounted a very steep hill, which commands it on the south, and then descended, by a very stony road, into a valley full of oaks, wild almond-trees in blossom, and the Kúhnar,* a tree peculiar to the south of Persia. Our road took us a westerly direction, and passed between two chains of high mountains.

We were met on the way by a migratory horde of Iliyats, who had broken up their encampment in one place, and were travelling

* The fruit of this tree, something like that of the service (sorbus), is yellow when ripe, slightly acid, and pleasant to the taste. When unripe, it is green and red.

with their flocks and herds to other pastures. The sheep and goats generally open the march, led by young shepherds, the flower and strength of the tribe, with their faithful companions the shaggy dogs. Next follow the donkeys and oxen of a small species, laden with the black canvass and poles of the Iliyat tents, with bags thrown over their backs, filled with various articles for home consumption, or bestrode by the more aged and weaker portion of the community. The poultry are likewise placed on the backs of the loaded cattle, with a leg or a wing tied to the packsaddle, and spend their time in trying to keep their balance on the seat as well as they can.

Men, women, and children accompany or follow the caravan on foot, sometimes in groups, at others walking separately, each bearing some household furniture or kitchen utensil. The little kids and lambkins born on the way, are placed in baskets, and carried by the Iliyats, or stowed away in hampers, and thrown across the packsaddles. Such as are lame, or with

young, have their separate conductors, who gently encourage them onward, or stop and feed them when they feel tired. What a true picture of this trait in Iliyat life is expressed in the following passage of Isaiah xl. 11, prophesying of our Saviour:—"He shall feed his flock like a shepherd: he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young."

The women are seen with their spinning-wheels on their shoulders, some twisting woollen yarn, others bent forward, and advancing slowly with their children astride on their backs, clasping their little arms around their mother's neck, and twisting their little legs round her waist: the smaller ones are usually tied up in a bag behind the back, while infant babies, together with their clumsy cradles, are hoisted on the heads or shoulders of their fond mothers, sinking under the weight.

A mother's devoted affection to her darling offspring is the same in every latitude; the

same are her anxieties; but the bodily fatigues a poor Iliyat mother has to undergo, are, perhaps, greater than those felt by women in any other condition of life.

The distances that some of these Iliyat tribes have to perform in their annual migrations are really wonderful.

From the southern shores of Fars, the Kashgoï* arrive in spring, on the grazing grounds of Isfahan, where they are met by the wandering Bakhtiyari from their warm pastures of Arábistán, near the head of the Persian Gulf. At the approach of winter both the tribes return to their respective *Germesirs*.

After travelling two hours we again came to an acclivity, when we had surmounted which we reached, by a long descent at eleven, a.m., the dry bed of a river coming from the snow-capped mountains of Humá to the right of the

* A Turkish tribe, about 12,000 families strong, and whose chief is the Il-Khani of Fars, one of the most influential personages in that province.

road and west of Basht. At the time when the snows melt, the river is full of water, and flows on with a southerly course till it issues from the valley, when it turns to the south-east, loses itself in the Mohúr, or, perhaps, unites with the Ab-Shir, and thus reaches the Persian Gulf. For some time we followed its course, and, on leaving the valley, turned to the west, and maintained that direction till we reached the station of Daghúmbezún, about eight farsangs (twenty-seven miles) from Basht. We arrived there at half-past three, p.m., having rested for half-an-hour by the way.

Throughout the whole tract which we had now crossed there are no habitations, nor, at this time of the year, is there any water. But it was not so formerly; for, along the side of the road, there are the remains of kanats, or under-ground channels, and, two farsangs before the traveller reaches Daghúmbezún, he passes the ruins of a karavanserai, and, further on, there are the relics of a village. The soil is, in general, full of pebbles, and it is only at

wide intervals that one meets with fields, cultivated by the Khogilú who inhabit the hills. The high mountains to the north are thinly sprinkled with trees, as is also the valley of Daghúmbezún, but the chain which stretches to the south is more barren and lower than the north line of the hills.

Daghúmbezún is a ruined karavanserai, built near a spring of water, in a perfectly wild and desert place. At some distance among the hills is the Kal'eh-Arú, a fort where the Chief of the Bo-Rahmet, one of the sub-divisions of the Khogilú tribe, resides.

Our halting-place not being considered very secure, on account of the predatory character of the mountaineers, we were advised to keep watch, having barricaded ourselves as well as we could, there being no doors to our cells, and the walls of the karavanserai seeming in a very dilapidated state.

While I was sitting up writing letters to my friends late at night, an alarm was given that some whistling was heard in the direction

of the mountains. We instantly had recourse to our arms, but after some time passed in suspense, seeing all was quiet, each in his turn snatched a few moments' rest, and we then started on our journey at three o'clock in the morning of the 25th. The distance from Daghúmbezún to Behbehán, is generally said to be twelve farsangs (forty-five miles), but I doubt whether it be so much.

For the first two farsangs (seven miles) we passed through the same valley we had followed on the preceding day, but the mountains after this close in, and the road leads for more than a farsang through a very rugged tract. We next entered a charming valley shaded by clumps of trees, closed by high mountains, and watered by the river Shem-si-Arab,* which winds its course through the hills in a south-west direction.

Having left the ruins of a karavanserai on the right, we crossed the river and entered

* Perhaps the Brizana of Nearchus. (See Vincent, p. 373.)

the plain of *Lishter*. It was in these meadows that a part of the stud of the former Ferman-Ferma (Governor) of Fars, was kept, on account of the abundance of grass with which they are covered in the spring. It was likewise here that Timúr encamped, according to his historian Sheref-ed-din, in the translation of whose work this place is called *Lashter*.

After leaving Daghúmbezún, until eight, a.m., our course was almost always west, but at Lishter we turned to the north-west. At half-past eight we left a square tower in ruins on the left, as well as an Imam-Zadeh near the mountains; and at eleven, a.m., we arrived by a winding road on the banks of a large river, after having crossed two inconsiderable ones.

The river which I have just named issues from the snowy range in an E.N.E. direction. It has a broad and pretty deep bed, and is called (the river of) Kheir-abad, from a large village, now in ruins, on the opposite bank. It is the Abi-Shirin (sweet water) mentioned in Timúr's route, perhaps the *Arosis* of the an-

cients, and the river of Hindian* of the present day. From the Kheir-abád river to Behbehán, is a distance of three farsangs (eleven miles); the first in a north-west direction, across a very rugged country, abounding in selenite, or foliated gypsum; the two last, westward, over a level well cultivated country.

* Also, but erroneously, called the Táb.

CHAPTER XI.

Boundary of the Mamaseni encampment.—Observations of M. de Quatremère on the country of Shulistán.—The Mamaseni are of Lúr origin.—Conjectures respecting the *Mamaceni* of Quintus Curtius.—*Lohr*, or *Lur*-asp, one of the ancient kings of Persia.—*Lúúr*, a name of one of the great-grandsons of the Patriarch Abraham.—Divisions of the Mamaseni: 1. Rustemi; 2. Bekesh; 3. Dushmen-Ziyari; 4. Joï.—Population.—The Mamaseni are great robbers.—History of Veli-Khan Bekesh.—Reduction of some of their strongholds.—Khogilú tribes.—Boundary of their encampments.—Are likewise of Lúr extraction.—Noté on the *Lek*, *Lúr*, and *Kurd* races.—The Governor of Behbehán Chief of the Khogilú.—Divisions of the Khogilú: 1. Bovi; 2. Borahmed; 3. Nuï; 4. Tenghebi; 5. Bakhmeï.—The latter a wilder and more savage tribe than the rest.—A few observations on their customs and manners.—Other tribes of Behbehán.—Taxation of Behbehán.—Arrears.—Critical position of the Chief Mirza Kúmo in respect to the Governor of Fars.—Preparations for resistance.—Offer my advice to Mirza Kúmo.—Sad fate which befalls him and his family.

We have described in the foregoing chapters, the country inhabited by the Mamaseni, which

may be comprised approximatively within the following limits:—The direct dependencies of Fars, to the east; Kazerún, to the south; the Khogilú tribes, and the hilly country descending towards the Persian Gulf, to the west; and the chain of the Ardekán mountains, to the north.

The tract of land occupied by the Mamaseni bears the name of Shulistán.

This is the country concerning which M. de Quatremère, in his translation of Reschid-ed-din's "History of the Mogols in Persia," gives in a few words an interesting account, borrowed from Oriental writers. We beg leave to insert the passage, as it will throw some light on the former history of the people of whose country we are now treating:—

"L'auteur du Mesalek Alabsar," says M. de Quatremère, "passant en revue les nations nomades de la Perse s'exprime en ces termes."—*MSS. Arabe de la Bibl. Royale*, No. 583, fol. 109, *recto*.

"Les *Schouls* ont les mêmes moeurs que les *Schéban Kareh* et s'éloignent peu de ces der-

niers, sous le rapport de l'intelligence, si ce n'est que l'on voit quelquefois, entre ces deux peuples, des meurtres rester sans vengeance, et les traités violés. On trouve chez eux de la générosité et de la munificence ; aussi les pauvres affluent dans leurs pays et sont reçus dans les villages, où on les traite avec la plus cordiale hospitalité, et on leur témoigne une parfaite confiance.

" Les Schouls habitent dans une contrée qui de leur nom avait pris celle de Shoulistan.* (Tarikhi Guzideh MSS. pers. de Brieux, No. 9,

* Mr. Price, in his " Chronological Retrospect, or Memoirs of the Principal Events of Muhammedan History," vol. ii. p. 430, translates the word Schoulistan by *region of sands*. The author was probably led into this error by an incorrect pronunciation of *Schúlistán*. The word *Chúlistan*, or *Tchúlistán*, derived from *Chúl*, certainly denotes an unfrequented region, or waste, destitute of fresh water ; but this cannot be said of the country inhabited by the Mamaseni, which (with the exception of the Mohúr, in the direction of the Persian Gulf) is a very fertile land, well watered by many mountain streams. It is, therefore, more likely that Schulistán was thus named from the Schúls, who formerly occupied it, as we learn from the Tarikhi Guzideh.

fol. 181, r. Mirkhond, &c.) Nous apprenons de l'auteur du Tarikhi Guzideh (fol. 180) que vers l'an 300 de l'hégire la moitié du Loristan était soumise aux Schouls; mais vers l'an 500 environ, 500 familles de Curdes étant arrivés de la montagne de *Sumak*, située dans la Syrié fixérent leur demeure dans le Loristan. Hesarasp, Atabek de cette contrée, profitant du renfort que lui offraient ses étrangers, chassa les restes des Schouls et demeura maître du pays: ensuite il fit la conquête du Schoulistan. Les Schouls vaincus se retirèrent dans la province de Fars."*

In another passage of the same work, the historian of the Mogols mentions that at the siege of Mousel (Mossoul) by the troops of Húlaku, the place was defended by a considerable force consisting of Curds, Turkomans, and *Schuls*.†

I am not aware whether the Mamaseni are

* See in "Collection Orientale, Histoire des Mogols, par Reschid-ed-din," tr. by Quatremère, the note at p. 380.

† Idem, p. 381.

the descendants or not of the Schuls, as I learned at Fahliyán that they were only transplanted into Shulistán at the time, and by the orders of Nadir Shah. They belong, however, to the Lúr family, as do likewise their neighbours the Khogilú and the Bakhtiyari, who like themselves occupy the valleys of the great chain of Zagros, which separates Irak-Ajam from the provinces bordering on the Persian Gulf. All these tribes are the descendants of the old Zend race.

Quintus Curtius speaks of a *Mamaceni* people who for a time valiantly resisted Alexander's arms in Bactriana, near Maracanda.* Although the distance between this people and the Mamaseni now under notice be considerable, still it is in no way improbable that at some remote period they belonged to the same race: for when we consider that the stream of migration of the Zend race flowed from north-east to south-west, i. e., from Central Asia to the coast of the Persian Gulf, it is

* See Quintus Curtius, lib. vii. chap. vi.

not unlikely that a part of the Mamaseni followed the general current, while the original stem remained on its former pastures, or in its walled towns. We find, in like manner, that the *Arti*, or *Ardi*, another branch of the ancient Persians, were scattered along the same line of communication between their primitive cradle in Central Asia, and the land of Pars, or Persis, where afterwards they settled, and to which they gave their name. Perhaps even the word *Lúr*, the generic name of the race to which the Mamaseni belong, may be discerned in Lúr-asp or Lohr-asp, the name of one of their ancient kings, supposed to have lived about the time of Zoroaster, and to whom the erection of the fire-temple of *Arejan*, near Behbehán, is attributed. The termination *asp* (a horse in Persian) being often found to be affixed to the name of such nations whose force consisted of cavalry,* as, for instance, the Ari-asp, the Hesar-asp, &c.

* Rhode translates Lohr-asp, Herr der Pferde, Lord of horses, probably chief of cavalry.

Josephus mentions among the posterity of Abraham a person by the name of *Lúúr*, who, together with *Asur*, were the great grandsons of that patriarch. (History of the Jews, book i. chap. vi.)

I throw out these ideas merely as conjectural, for they would require a more profound investigation before the question could be definitively settled.

The Mamaseni of the present day consist of four great divisions, each of which is subdivided into lesser clans. The following are the principal sections of the tribe:—

1. The Rustemi;
2. The Bekesh;
3. The Dushmen Ziyari;
4. The Joï.

The Rustemi, whose chiefs are Ali-Veis-Khan and Khan-Ali-Khan, are esteemed the bravest and the most powerful. They occupy the valley of Ser-abi-Siyah and the adjacent hilly country. A subdivision of this tribe, which goes by the name of Muhammed Salehi,

occupies the pastures of Diyar in the plain of Behram.

Next to the Rustemi in power are the Bekesh, with their chief, Murad-Khan. Their strong fort is Núrabád, in Sahraï-Behram, while another division of the tribe encamps at Tengi-Shapúr. The mountain fort of Kal'eh-Sefid is likewise in their possession.

Between the Rustemi and the Bekesh there exists much jealousy and hostility, as they are nearly equal in force; the former being rather stronger, which the latter cannot easily brook after having been for many successive years the most powerful clan among the Mamaseni when Veli-Khan ruled over the whole tribe.

3. The Dushmen-Ziyari, since the execution of their chief, Muhammed Riza-Khan, in 1840, and the internal broils which ensued among the petty chiefs, have been greatly weakened, and have lost their weight in the tribe. A portion of the Dushmen-Ziyari has sought the protection of the Rustemi, and thus augmented the strength of the latter. Their encampments

are in Ardekán, near Shapúr, and at Chenosheján.

4. The Joï, under the direction of their chief, Fet'h-ullah-Khan, encamp near Kal'eh-Sefid, and in the upper valley of Abshúr.

The number of families, or *khanehvár*, of the Mamaseni are said to exceed 4,000, reckoning about 1,000 families for each division.* The tax levied on them by the Governor of Fars amounts to 7,000 tomans (about 2,800*l.*). During the latter years of the reign of Fet'h-'Ali-Shah, when the province of Fars was administered by his son, Husein-'Ali-Mirzá, the Mamaseni were much addicted to pillage, and had become the scourge of the country, robbing the caravans. The leader, who thus gained the greatest celebrity among them, was Veli-Khan, of the Bekesh tribe. From being nothing more than a pish-khidmet, or

* I must have committed an oversight in stating in the paper on the Mamaseni, published in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xiii., that each clan had no more than one hundred families.

valet de chambre of the Prince Ferman-Ferma (Viceroy) of Fars, he soon rose to be the chief of the Mamaseni. Zeki-Khan Núri,* Vizier of the Prince, was the first who promoted this man's influence among his countrymen, by intrusting him with some power over them, which the wily pish-khidmet well knew how to turn to his own account. He organized a gang of robbers, and, placing himself at their head, commenced robbing the caravans. Each successful attack, by spreading abroad his reputation, increased the number of his adherents; and the feeble authorities of Fars, unable to restrain his predatory inclination, endeavoured to give another direction to his pursuits, by ministering food to his vanity. An union was concerted between his daughter and one of the sons of the Ferman-Ferma, Timúr-Mirzá,† who then nominally ruled over Behbehán and

* Derived from the word *Núr* (light), a hilly district in the province of Mazanderán.

† The same prince who, some years back, visited England.

the country of Shulistán. But this match did not effect the object intended; Veli-Khan remained as unruly as before, erected the fort of Núrabád, and continued to exercise his trade of plundering with greater impunity than ever, especially during the period of misrule and disorder, which, in the southern provinces of Persia, followed the death of the old king. The communication between Bú-Shehr and Shiráz was in consequence almost cut off, until Manuchehr-Khan, the Moétemid-Daulet was named Governor of Fars. Affairs then assumed a different aspect, and Veli-Khan, on the faith of promises held out to him that he had nothing to fear, was induced to leave Kal'eh-Sefid (whither he had previously retired), and to proceed to Shiráz. From thence he was allowed to accompany Muhammed Taghi-Khan-Kazvini, and aid him in collecting the taxes from the Mamaseni.

While on this expedition, Muhammed Taghi-Khan one night at a banquet, heated with wine, so far forgot himself as to use some

irreverent expressions with respect to Veli-Khan's daughter, the wife of Timúr-Mirzá. This so enraged her brother, Baghír-Khan, that he rose and called on his countrymen to avenge the honour of their clan. He was instantly obeyed; and the greater part of Muhammed Taghi-Khan's detachment was put to the sword, whilst himself was hurried, handcuffed, to Khisht, situated further in the mountains. The whole clan now rose up in arms.

On the approach of the Governor of Fars to quell the revolt, Veli-Khan fled to Galedar, near the Persian Gulf, while Baghír-Khan retired into the forts of Gúl-i-Gúlab, built one above the other on a steep rock, with a communication between. Soon after the siege was laid to them, the inhabitants surrendered Baghír-Khan and his father's family into the hands of the Moétemid. It is reported that Veli-Khan was informed of the approach of his pursuers at the time he was making free with some Shiráz wine, the property of an

English officer in the Shah's service, and which the followers of the Mamaseni chief had appropriated for their master's use. In the hurry of escape, and in the state of intoxication he then was, Veli-Khan made, it seems, too great an effort to vault into the saddle, and fell over to the other side, where he was immediately picked up and secured by his pursuers, who had just arrived at that moment.

These two robbers, Baghír and Veli-Khan, have been ever since imprisoned in the citadel of Tabriz; but their popularity in Fars is so great, that their names, deeds and exploits, are perpetuated in songs, and pass from mouth to mouth among the Iliyats.

Since their capture, and the reduction of the mountain forts, the power of the Mamaseni has been somewhat broken, and the authorities of Fars have contrived to set up governors to rule over them. However, the latter are seldom safe among this tribe, and are obliged to be continually on their guard against secret intrigues or open assaults, although hostages from

each clan are kept at Shiráz, to answer for the good conduct of the tribe. At the time I passed through their country, the Mamaseni had no particular chief to keep them together. Sardar Hassan-Khan had been recently named to that post, but was still at Shiráz, negotiating with the hostage chiefs for his good reception among their kinsmen in Shulistán.

The Khogilú Tribes.—On leaving the country of the Mamaseni, we enter the territory of the Khogilú, a tribe as wild and as lawless as their neighbours to the east, and as the Bakhtiyar clans who occupy the mountainous tracts to the west.

The Khogilú, together with the two above-mentioned tribes, belong to the great family of the Lurs,* and speak a rude jargon of the

* The other great divisions are the *Leks* and *Kurds*. I do not think the origin of these three tribes has ever yet been satisfactorily ascertained. They are neither of the Arab nor of Turkish descent, and may therefore be looked upon as the aborigines, or at least the oldest settlers of Irán. They seem always to have occupied the hilly country, which runs from south-east to north-west of Persia,

Persian language, or, more probably, the corrupted old tongue of Fars--the Fúrsi or Kadim.

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and served to constitute the kernel of the Zend race. The different dialects spoken by these mountaineers are said to contain a number of words of the old Zend language; and up to the present day there is a clan among the Leks which bears the name of Zend, and gave, in the last century, a ruler to Persia, in the person of Kerim-Khan-Vakil. Ancient historians and geographers speak of the mountainous country of the Kardushians and Gordyans,—the present Kurdistán. Strabo, who mentions that the *Cardaces* were addicted to thieving, adds, that their name is derived from the word *Carda*, which, in their language, meant *valiant, warlike.* (Liv. xv., c. iii.) The independent mountaineers of Kurdistán, who boast that they never have been a conquered people, well deserve the above epithets; whilst their predatory habits give them as good a right to the title of thieves. Ferdausi mentions that the Kurds are the descendants of those young men who were saved from the voracity of the serpents of the tyrant Zohak, which were fed on human brains. (See in the Shah-Namah'-Zohak, st. 39.) Whatever credit may be attached to this tradition, it shows, at all events, the antiquity of the Kurdish race.

The secluded vale amidst the mountains of Behbehán, where I discovered some very ancient bas-reliefs, with inscriptions in unknown characters, bears the name of *Saulek*, in which the last syllable, *lek*, may have some connexion with the tribe of that name. Perhaps even the

Mirza Kúmo, the Governor of Behbehán, exercises his sway over this tribe, although the Khogilú are under the immediate control of their own petty chieftains. Recently, however, several of these clans have entirely thrown off the authority of Mirza Kúmo, and have sought the protection of the neighbouring powerful chiefs.

The Khogilú are divided into the following tribes:—

First, the Bovi, who muster upwards of 4,000 families, and occupy Bósht, to the west of the Mamaseni. Their chief, Sherif-Khan, was blinded by the order of the late Husein

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Lesghi of Daghestán,* in the Caucasus, who go by the appellation of *Leksi* in Persia and in Georgia, may have belonged originally to the same section of the Zend race. I shall have to refer to the Lúrs more than once in the course of my narrative.

* The Poles, whose true name is *Lakh*, are said to have descended into the plains from the Caucase mountains, together with the *Chekhs*, the inhabitants of Bohemia.

'Ali-Mirza, former Ferman Ferma of Fars, and resides now at Shiráz, whilst his son Állah-Kerim-Khan, manages the affairs of his tribe at Bósht, and may more properly be looked upon as the real head of the Bovi. I learned from the latter that the ancestors of his family had settled here from the Chá'b country, and that in later years after a fruitless opposition to the power of Nadir-Shah, the Bovi were transplanted into Khorasan with their chief, Hashem-Khan, who was afterwards named governor, and ended, as it but too often happens in the east, by being deprived of his sight by order of that sovereign. After the death of Nadir-Shah the son of Hashem-Khan found means, during the unsettled state in which the country then was, to return with his followers to Fars.

The present chief, Allah-Kerim-Khan, in order to ward off the danger to which the vicinity of the Mamaseni on the one side, and the troublesome neighbourhood of his immediate Lord, Mirza Kúmo on the other, would expose him, as well as to ensure the permanence

of his own power, has prudently contracted family alliances with both parties, by marrying the daughter of the Governor of Behbehán and the sister of the Mamaseni chief of the Rustim tribe. Polygamy in this instance is an advantage which the eastern politicians possess over European diplomatists.

Secondly, The *Borahmed*, amounting to 3,000 families, formed formerly a strong clan, which, however, was afterwards divided when Abdúlláh-Khan with his party went over to the Rustim branch of the Mamaseni, while Ali-Muhammed-Khan with his followers remained faithful to the Governor of Behbehán. The latter occupy Arú, and the mountainous country north of the karavanserai of *Daghúmbezún*.

Thirdly, The *Núi*, about 2,000 families, are reckoned the best horsemen among the Khogilú, as the Rustemi pass for the best cavalry among the Mamaseni. They inhabit the hilly country to the north-east of Behbehán.

The *Tenghebi*, or *Taïbi*, amount to 3,000 families, and occupy the mountainous regions of *Bars*

and *Dinarún*, where their chief, Muhammed-Ali-Khan, resides in the castle of Kal'eh-Múlah.

Fifthly, The Bakhmeï, are reckoned the wildest and most unruly tribe among the mountaineers of Fars, although their number is said not to exceed 2,000 families, perhaps rather underrated.

Formerly they recognised, but only nominally, the authority of Mirza Kúmo, for this Chief was always obliged to send an armed force into their fastnesses to gather his annual tribute from them. At present they refuse altogether to acknowledge him, and have gone over to Muhammed Taghi Khan, the powerful Bakhtiyar Chief.

As an instance of their spirit of independence and slight regard for the authority even of the Shah, I was told that when a collector of the revenues was endeavouring one day to impress on the mind of a Bakhmeï, that it was the tribute due to the Shah, his liege lord, that was required of him, the man replied that he only yielded to force, but that he knew of no

Shah of Persia, and should only believe in his existence, when he could actually have him on the palm of his hand.

At the time of my passing through the Bakhmeï country, there existed a bloody feud among them. Khalil-Khan, of the Mahmedi clan, had killed his nephew, the son of Zeki-Khan, of the Akhmedieh clan, and both parties were in arms. I afterwards met this Khalil-Khan at the camp of the Bakhtiyar Chief, and his sinister appearance expressed sufficiently his sanguinary character. The Bakhmeï occupy the mountains north-west of Behbehán, at Tenghi-Saulek, (where some ancient sculptures and inscriptions are found, of which I shall hereafter give an account,) and extend as far as the plain of Peték.

All these tribes are spread over the mountainous range, and the intervening valleys, on the southern face of the great chain, which stretches from Hamadan and Zohab towards Fars, from north-west to south-east.

My rapid progress through their country did

not admit of my minutely investigating their manners, customs, and religious observances, which would have been a most interesting study, as they probably may be the descendants of the ancient Mardi, Parætaci, and Uxii, mentioned in Alexander's expedition from Susa to Persepolis.

I met with few of their tents on the tract I followed, as they were encamped in the more secluded valleys of the mountains, and therefore my observations can be but scanty and superficial.

Though they outwardly profess Muhammedanism, they have, I believe, like the generality of the wandering tribes of Persia, a very faint idea of religion; their whole faith consisting in some superstitious rites, and a traditional veneration for their Piri, or holy men, to whose shrines they go on pilgrimage. Among the offerings which they bring with them, in order to the attainment of some worldly object, are little tin lamps, which they string on ropes over the tomb of their saints, or coloured rags

which their women attach to some consecrated trees. I have seen trees of this description in Persia, with rags on them in greater profusion than leaves.

As to their external appearance, I met with fewer tall men among the Khogilú than among the Mamaseni; but they are a very hardy race, and undoubtedly owe much of their vigour and muscular frame to their active pursuits, the simplicity of their diet, and the bracing air which they inhale in their mountain fastnesses.

Their chief occupation consists in tending their flocks of sheep and goats, and they resemble, in this respect, all the wandering tribes of Persia. Their usual food is the acorn, which is first bruised between two stones, and made into flour, by being dried in the sun. The women bake cakes of this flour. The paste is likewise eaten raw, and is considered very nourishing. That this sort of food is nothing new to man, we learn from the accurate Herodotus, who says, that the

Lacedemonians, wishing to take possession of Arcadia, first consulted the oracle of Delphi, and the Pythea pronounced to them the following answer:—

"Askest thou Arcadia of me? Thou askest much; nor will I grant it thee. In Arcadia dwell many warriors, *fed on acorns*, who will repel thee."*

Independently of the Khogilú, there are several other tribes, who inhabit these mountains, such as the *Jarumi*, the *Yusufi*, and upwards of a thousand families directly under the control of Mirza Kúmo, occupying the plain of Behbehán, and settled in villages or dispersed in tents. These are the *Juma-Buzurg*, the *Afshars*, and some Arab settlers.†

* See Herodotus, by Laurent, vol. i., verse 66, page 31.

† The names of the Turkish tribes are, the Karabaghi, Agbaghi, Begdeli, Golebi, and Sheiri, speaking the Turkish language; while the Afshars, although of the same origin, have forgotten their mother tongue. The Doveti, Ghesti Mayaz-kuli, Barash, Milosi, and Juleki, are of the Lúr race, and speak the Lurish dialect.

Mirza Kúmo himself is of Arab origin. His family migrated from Mecca, and was supposed to be a branch of the holy family of the Arab Prophet; in consequence of which his adherents maintain that his person is inviolable, and that to attack him would be a sacrilege, and that the daring offender would be stricken by the thunder-bolt of heaven.

The inhabitants of the town of Behbehán are very expert in the preparation and dyeing of woollen cloth; but owing to their reluctance to disclose the secrets of their art, I could glean no useful information on the subject.

The annual taxation of Behbehán, together with Shulistán, amounts to from 24,000 to 30,000 tomans (about 12,000*l.* or 15,000*l.*). However, for several years the Governor has found means to evade payment to the authorities at Shiráz, so that the arrears are said to amount to nearly 100,000 tomans. This state of things has placed Mirza Kúmo in no pleasant predicament in respect to the Governor of Fars, as the latter has often threatened to compel him

by force of arms to pay, if he persisted in withholding any longer what was due to the Crown. Mirza Kúmo still hoped that he could avert the storm gathering around him, by sending a few presents and some money as a Pesh-kesh* for the Prince and his Visir at Shiráz. These presents were to consist of some fine Arab horses and 200 rolls of the celebrated *mumia*, a sort of mineral pitch, greatly esteemed in the East for its healing qualities. This substance, which is quite hard and fashioned into a cylindrical form, is wrapped in silver or gold paper (as chocolate is sometimes prepared at the confectioners).

Meanwhile Mirza Kúmo was busily occupied in fortifying his town in case of emergency, notwithstanding the accredited notion among the people, that in consequence of his descent from the Prophet, no Mussulman dare attack him with impunity. Be this as it may, I found

* A present an inferior offers to a superior in Persia, and somewhat like the reliefs which vassals had to pay to their Suzerain lords in Europe during the middle ages.

Mirza Kúmo very much elated at the works which were going on, and he asked me, as we were looking out of a window of the castle at some workmen occupied in widening the ditch before the rampart, whether I did not think his town was impregnable? I answered, that if he had such enemies as the wild Bakhtiyari to contend with, he might hope to oppose them with success: but if he wished seriously to know my opinion, I could not refrain from imparting to him my honest belief, that neither the walls of his castle, nor its external ramparts, were able to hold out against any regular troops with a battering artillery. I added, that as a guest who had partaken of his bread and salt, and consequently one who wished him well, I earnestly warned him not to risk the experiment, as the experience of it might probably cost him dear. My host did not heed my advice, and I am sorry to add that my forebodings proved but too true. Some time after my return to Teherán, news was received that

the forces sent against this chief by the Governor of Fars had taken possession of Behbehán, and put many of the inhabitants to the sword.

Mirza Kúmo had fled into the Chá'b country, but his wives and grown up daughters were distributed among the soldiery of Mansúr Khan's victorious troops, with the exception of one of the daughters, who, to escape the degradation of falling into the hands of such an enemy, had thrown herself into a deep well, inlaid with stone, and was dashed to pieces.

This is not a solitary instance of the desperate resolution of the Iliyat women to destroy their life, rather than to become the victims of the brutal violence of the victors.

When the forts of Gúl-i-Gúlab, occupied by the Mamaseni rebels, had surrendered to the troops of the Shah, many of the Mamaseni women—who had been sent there for safety—abhorring the idea of falling into the hands of the conquerors, threw themselves from the top of the fort down the precipitous rocks.

I believe several died on the spot, while others miraculously escaped death, though not without broken limbs. But thanks to the humane and timely assistance of the skilful surgeon of the British detachment, Dr. Griffith, a Welshman, who accompanied the Persian expedition, many recovered and were allowed to return to their clan in peace.

I am ignorant what may be the fate of the unfortunate Mirza Kúmo, but it is highly probable that he is still a fugitive, wandering among the Arab tribes, and seeking shelter from tent to tent.

CHAPTER XII.

Description of Behbehán.—Limits.—Former and present possessions of Behbehán.—Soil.—Produce.—Climate.—Winter and summer residences of the Governor.—Ruins of Arrejân.—Remains of two splendid bridges over the river Kurdistán.—Fire-temple of Ardján.—Volcanic mountain.—Mumia.—Arrejân probably the former emporium of trade between India and the interior of Persia.—The ports of Mahrubán and Hindiyán.—The name of Arrejân attached to the province in the tenth century.—Town of Cobád.—Different cities of Ardea.—The ancient town of the Ardi, natives of Ardekán.—Identity of Ardekán and Parætacene, &c.—Alexander penetrates into those mountains.—Caves of the Mardi.—Asylum Persarum.—Hedypnes of Pliny.—Ver-effshue the abode of bliss of the Zend-Avesta.—Annual migrations of the Persepolitan porcupine.—Notes.

The province of Fars was formerly divided into five districts or circles, called *kuréh*, which were, Istakhr, Darabjird, Shapúr, Ardashir, and Cobád.* At present it consists of three principal parts, namely:

* See Jehán Numá.

1. Fars Proper (Persis Proper);
2. Láristán, near the Persian Gulf; and,
3. Behbehán or the country of the Khogilú.

This latter represents the kuréh of *Cobád.*

The territory of Behbehán, now under the sway of Mirza Kúmo, is limited to the north by the great belt of mountains which separates Irak-Ajem from the southern provinces of Persia; the northern and north-eastern shores of the Persian Gulf form its boundary to the south. Ram-Hormúz and the Chá'b country lie to the west, while Shúlistán separates Behbehán on the east from the direct dependencies of Fars.

With reference to ethnography, I may remark, that Behbehán is surrounded by the following tribes:—To the east and south-east the Mamaseni; to the north and north-west the Bakhtiyari; and to the west and south-west the Chá'b-Arabs.

Independently of the mountainous regions to the north and north-east of the plain of Behbehán, which is occupied, as we have seen

in the preceding chapter, by the Khogilú tribes, the districts of *Liravi* and *Zeitún*, near the Persian Gulf, together with the fortresses of Gúl-i-Guláb,* all come under the control of the Governor of Behbehán.

The mountain fort of *Mungasht*, and the town with the district of Ram-Hormúz, were likewise held formerly by Mirza Kúmo, but are now in the hands of Muhammed Taghi-Khan, the Bakhtiyar Chief.

The soil of Behbehán is very productive, being watered by several noble streams, such as the Shemsi-Arab, the Kheirabad, and the Kurdistán, together with the lesser rivers flowing from the Ardekán mountains, and

* These forts, which have a communication with one another, are reckoned as strong and as difficult of access as Kal'eh-Sefid; they were, notwithstanding, captured in 1835 by the Moétemid-Daúlet; and the turbulent Mamaseni chiefs who had sought refuge there, were forced to surrender. The strongholds of Gúl-i-Gúláb are about five farsangs from Behbehán; and the river Kheir-abad (the Abi-Shirin or Hindiyán river) flows close to the foot of the rock on which they are built, one fort above the other.

it might be a very rich agricultural district if it were more densely peopled, and, above all, if there were more security and stability in the administration.

On the spacious plain surrounding the town of Behbehán the inhabitants grow corn, which yields twenty-four fold, while, nearer the Gulf, cotton and rice are the staple production. Among the fruit-trees the palm takes the precedence, although lemon, orange, and pomegranates, are likewise cultivated with success.* To give an idea of the mildness of the climate, I need only mention, that in the month of January the meadows near the town were sprinkled with the narcissus, which, from a distance, appeared like a white sheet extending several miles in circumference, perfuming the air with the most delicious fragrance. Mothers with their children in their arms, and baskets containing provisions in their hands, resort for the whole day to the meadows, where the

* I do not recollect to have seen any lemon or orange trees at Behbehán, but I was told there were.

narcissusses grow, returning home only at the close of the evening, with immense nosegays of these flowers.

The olive-tree, if I was rightly informed, grows on the banks of the Hindiyán river, from whence the town of *Zeitún* is supposed to have derived its name, as *Zeitún* in Persian means an olive ;* although Ibn Batuta, the Arab traveller of the fourteenth century, derives it from *El-Zaidain*, or the town of the two Sayids, that of *Zaid Ibn-Thabet*, and *Zaid Ibn-Arkam*, the companions of the Arab prophet.†

I have failed to ascertain to whom Behbehán

* Ibn-Haúkal says, that "Arrgan produced dates and olives in great plenty." (See Oriental Geography, attributed to the above-quoted author, by Sir W. Ouseley, p. 104.)

We likewise find in M. d'Herbelot, at the article *Arragian*, the following :—"*Arragian* ville de la province de Khúzistan ou Susiane, que quelques Géographes attribuent pourtant à celle de Fars ou Perse proprement dite. Elle n'est éloignée de la mer que d'une seule journée et son territoire est très fertile en palmiers et *oliviers*, &c." (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 122.)

† See Ibn Batuta's Travels, translated by E. Samuel Lee. London, 1829, 4to., p. 43.

owes its foundation. It may be of Sasanian origin, but it seems to have acquired note only after the destruction of Arrejân and Cobâd. That it existed so far back as the fourteenth century can be traced by the circumstance of Sheref-ed-din 'Ali of Yezd mentioning that Timûr encamped near *Behbehân* on his way to Kal'eh-Sefid.

At present it is the winter residence of the governor, whose summer encampment is up the valley of the Kurdistân river at a place called *Deh-Dasht*, eight farsangs from Behbehân.

The plain of Behbehân, as well as the valleys in the mountains, present traces of considerable towns, which prove that this part of Persia must have been, in some former period of its history, in a state much more flourishing than that which it now can lay claim to.

Half way between Behbehân and the river Kurdistân, are ruins scattered over a considerable extent of ground. These remains consist of kiln-burnt bricks, white mortar, and more

or less elevated artificial mounds of earth. It was among them, I believe, that Sir John Macdonald Kinnier found a stone slab, with an arrow-headed inscription—a sure sign of remote antiquity. Nearer the water, on both sides of the river, are buildings in a better state of preservation, which appear to be of a more recent date, though still perhaps of Sasanian origin, and probably coeval with the stupendous remains of two bridges, of which the Arab writers speak in high terms. On the left bank, but further inland, I met with some Muhammedan tombs, with arched domes over them, open to all the four sides, in the Mussulman fashion. This is the true site of *Arrejân*, whereas the ruins above-mentioned appear to belong to a more ancient town, of which I shall have to speak hereafter.

The ruins of Arrejân consist of stone and brick buildings, scattered on the lofty banks of the Kurdistân river, mostly on the left shore; but likewise, on the declivities of the bank, and partly along the narrow strip of

land which separates the bed of the river from its southern or left embankment. With the exception of the bridges, there are no remains of large edifices; the houses seem to have possessed but one story, with vaulted roofs. Both sides of the town were united by two bridges, a short distance one from the other.* They are of stone and brick, and, to judge from what remains, they must have been built on a grand scale. Some of the platforms of the piers on which the arches rested are still standing on the right and left banks of the river, while nearly all the rest have been carried away by the force of the current, which is excessively rapid, the waters curling in eddies as they are swiftly borne down the stream.

The bridges are about one farsang from the narrow passage in the mountains from whence

* In Edrisi's "Itinerary from Shiráz to Khuzistán," we read, according to M. Jaubert's French version,—"On parvient ensuite au pont de *Bekiar*, construit à la distance d'un jet de flèche de Redjan." (See "Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires," &c., vol. v., p. 408.)

the Kurdistán river issues. They are now called *Púli-Bagúm*, or *Begúm*, and *Puli-Dokhter* (the bridges of the Lady and the Damsel).

The accompanying sketch will give an idea of the former. In respect to the latter, there is a massive building, which formed part of it, on the left shore, two stories high, which brought the bridge on a level with the high banks, so that the passage along it led over the second floor. In each floor there were two spacious apartments.

The following passage of Ibn Batuta, the Arab traveller of the fourteenth century, unquestionably refers to one of these bridges, in the comparison he establishes between this and another bridge on the northern coast of Africa:—

"In this place" (Constantina), says the author, "is a bridge, to which there is no equal in the countries of Islamism for its wonderful construction. It consists of one arch of 150 paces in extent, between two piers, *if*

we except that at the gates of Arjan, upon the borders of Khuzistán, which is referred to El-Dailimi, the physician of El-Hejaj."*

In Edrisi we have a more complete description of one of the bridges at Arrejân:

"Near the gate of Redjan," says this writer, "towards Khouzistan, is to be seen over the river Tab a bridge called Deilemi, the surname of the physician of Hedjadj-ben-Yousouf. This bridge has only one arch supported by two piles, distant eighty paces one from another. The height of this arch is pretty nearly equal to its length."†

* See "Ibn Batuta's Travels," translated by the Rev. Mr. Lee, page 4. It would seem, from the concluding lines, that one of the bridges at Arrejân was erected since the Mussulman sway in Persia.

† "Près de la porte de Redjan," says Edrisi, "du côté du Khouzistan ou voit sur la rivière de Tab, un pont appelé *Deilemi*, surnom du medicin de Hedjadj-ben-Yousouf. Ce pont n'a qu' une arche soutenue par deux piles, distantes entre elles de quatre-vingts pas; la hauteur de cette arche est à peu près égale à sa longueur." (See "Géographie d' Edrisi," par M. Amadée Joubert, in the "Recueil de Voyages, et de Mémoires," &c., tom. v. p. 399, 3me climat. 6me section.)

Yakúti attributes the foundation of *Arreján*, which he places in the third climate, to the Sasanian King *Cobád*, the son of Firúz, and the father of Nushirvan, therefore about the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries of the Christian era. We find, however, the name of *Ardjan* at a much earlier period of history, among the principal fire-temples of the Persians.

"The fire-temple Gedjender was built by Suavouch, and that of Ardjan (or Erdjan) in Fars was erected towards the end of the reign of Lorasb."*

In addition to the fact, that both the town and the fire-temple bearing the same name happened to be in Fars, there is another circumstance which induces me to believe that if *Ardjan*, the fire-temple, was not situated on the spot where the town of *Arreján* was built,

* "Le pyrée Gedjender fut bâti par Suavouch, et celui d' *Ardjan* (ou d'Erdjan) dans le Fars fut élevé sur la fin da règne de Lorasb." ("Receuil de Memoires et de Voyages," &c.)

it must have been at least in the neighbourhood.

Near the straits of *Tengi-Tekó*, from whence the Kurdistán river issues into the plain above the ruins of Arreján, and not far from the village of *Peshker*, is a fissure high up in the mountains, out of which runs a black substance resembling pitch, which is gathered by the natives, and is much esteemed in Persia for its healing qualities, especially for bruises and fractures. It is called *Mumiá*, and sometimes *Mumia-i-Naï*, from the name of the village, *Naï-deh*, which lies at the foot of these mountains. The fissure was doubtless originally produced by a volcano now extinct. At the time Shiráz was visited by an earthquake (I believe twenty-five or thirty years ago) Behbehán likewise felt its effects; the rent of the hill from whence the mumiá oozed out sparingly, was widened, and since that time it runs out more abundantly, but the quality is said to be deteriorated.

We learn from Arab authority,* that the mountain yielding this bitumen or naphtha was a volcano, and as the fire of nature was an object of peculiar veneration among the ancient Parsi, and that of naphtha springs in particular (Azer-i-Noush), the fire-temple of *Ardjan* may possibly have been erected in the vicinity of the mountains just described. This, however, proceeds on the supposition that a temple wrought by the hand of man was considered necessary, for it was not customary among the older disciples of Zerdusht to build houses for prayer; they worshipped God on the high places, and a volcano emitting fire was therefore of all others the fittest temple to which they turned their eyes in addressing their prayers to the Deity of Light. This custom of offering prayers in high places seems to have been one of the earliest and most universally extended modes of worship, and one which had spread the deepest roots among the nations of the East; for we find that the

* See note at the end of the chapter.

Jews, in their frequent backslidings, whenever they repented of their idolatry, and returned to the true God, still kept to the practice of praying in the high places.

From the circumstance that several itineraries, mentioned by the Arab writers in south-western Persia, are made to take their departure from or lead to Arrejân, we are to infer that that city was of some note; and its geographical position leads us to the same conclusion. As there exists a communication between Behbehân and Isfahân, although a difficult one, across the mountains, Arrejân may have been the emporium of the trade carried on between the Persian Gulf and the interior of the country. According to the Arab geographer, with whom Sir W. Ouseley has made us acquainted, *Mahrubân* was the port of Arrejân at the mouth of the *Tâb*, while this latter river served as the artery of commerce.*

It is likewise not improbable that the

* See the Oriental Geography, translated by Sir W. Ouseley, p. 11.

town of *Hindiyán*, at the mouth of the Kheirabad river (the Abi-Shirin of Timúr's expedition, and perhaps the Arosis of Nearchus), owes its name, and possibly its very existence, to the Indian trade with Persia, when the southern provinces of the kingdom were in a flourishing state; when the numerous ruins found in the valleys of the mountains (to which I shall presently refer) were inhabited towns; when *Kúmisheh* (where the roads join from Fars, Behbehán, Khúzistán, and Isfahán), instead of its present insignificance, must have been an extensive city, as its ruins denote; and, lastly, when Isfahán itself could boast of a greater degree of wealth and prosperity.

The *Hindiyán* river is navigable from the sea up to *Zeitún*, which latter town is only a day's journey to Behbehán (five farsangs).

These two commercial routes may have been contemporary and still have existed without prejudice to each other; the former more

particularly with Arabia, the latter with India.*

Moreover, it may have been found more convenient to carry Persian merchandise down the current of the Táb to Mahrubán and the Persian Gulf, while the productions of India were imported to Persia by way of Hindiyán and Zeitún, shortening thereby the navigation on the Persian Gulf, and avoiding the difficult ascent up the rapid stream of the Táb.

In the tenth century it appears that the name of Arrejân was not limited to the town alone, but was extended to a whole tract of country, as we discover from a passage in De Guignes, where he treats of the Buïd dynasty of Irak—Ajem,† while in another part the

* A branch of the trade of the Persian Gulf, struck off to the north-east, near Ram-Hormuz, up the valley of *Tezeng*, or the *Alaï* river, and then over the mountains into Media, by the causeway called *Jadehi Atabeg*, of which more hereafter in chapters xvi. and xvii.

† "Le Sultan Roknedoulet Abou-Aly el Hassan était maitre de toute la Perse, l'an 365 de l'Hégire (de J.C. 975), il partagea ses états entre ses trois enfans : Adhad ed dôulet

same author speaks of *Ardgian* as the town where Bahaeddoulet Abounasr, son of Adhad, likewise of the Buïd race, died in 1012 of our era (403 of the Hejira).

About six miles from Behbehán, in an easterly direction, inclining to the north, is the village of *Mansurieh*, which I was told is built on the ruins, and with the materials, of the ancient city of *Cobád*, from which formerly this whole tract of country derived its name, and formed one of the five circles of Fars.

The city of Cobád owes, probably, its origin to the Sasanian monarch of that name,* the same who laid the foundation of Arrejân; for Mirkhond, the historian of the Sasanian dynasty, mentions the predilection of Cobád for erecting new cities.

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abou Schodgia eut la Perse (le Fars), *Ardgian* et le Kerman, qu'il joignit aux états dont il avait hérité de Son Oncle Emaddoulet," &c. (Histoire générale des Huns, &c., par de Guignes, liv. vi. tom. i. p. 409.) See likewise the note about *Redjan* at the end of the chapter.

* See note at end of the chapter.

"Cobád," says that writer, "was fond of building. He erected many edifices, and laid the foundations of several towns. Among such as owe to him their origin, may be reckoned Berdâa, Candja, &c."*

We have alluded in the foregoing pages to the ruins of an ancient town, lying between Behbehán and the river Kurdistán. On looking at the map of Ptolemy, we find that the town of *Ardea*, situated on the plain below the mountains, and near the river Arosis, would just suit the situation these ruins now occupy; although the courses of his rivers are in general very inaccurately laid down.

When we come to treat of the campaign of

* See Mirkhond, translated by the Baron Silvestre de Sacy, in his "Mémoires sur Diverses Antiquités de la Perse," page 357.

The town of *Candja*, or *Ganja*, (from *Ganj*, treasure,) bears at present the name of *Elizavetopol*, and with its territory forms part of Georgia, to the south of the Caucase mountains, as well as *Berdâa*, the ruins of which are seen near the river Kúr. Both are situated in the Russian dominions.

Timúr to Kal'eh-Sefid, and Alexander's expedition to Persepolis, we shall show the probability of the *Ardekán* mountains, (which lie to the north-east and east of Behbehán,) representing the country inhabited originally by the *Ardi*, or *Artœi*,* the name which Herodotus gives to the ancient Persians. For the present it is sufficient to point out the great similarity in the sound which *Ardea* bears to the *Artœi*, together with the vicinity of this spot to the mountainous region of *Ardekán*, which they inhabited, in order to create an impression favourable to the idea that the city of Ardea may have been one of the chief towns of the ancient Persians.

It is rather a curious circumstance that one of the most ancient cities of Europe, so intimately associated with the early history of Rome, and the origin of which is lost in Grecian mythology—I mean the capital of the Rutuli in ancient Latium—should likewise have been called *Ardea*.

* See "Herodotus Polymnia," b. vii. c. i.

Is this similarity of sound to be attributed to chance alone? or should not our attention, awakened by the fact, seek to trace a family connexion between the natives of *Ardea* in Latium, and the *Ardi* of the East? The coincidence is the more striking, as both Ardea and the Persians appear to have had a common origin, according to the Greek and Latin writers. Ptolemy, Pliny, and, I believe, Virgil, mention that Ardea was founded by Danae, mother of Perseus; whilst Herodotus (lib. vii. 61), and Xenophon (Cyrop. lib. i.), inform us that the Persians derived their name likewise from Perseus (Pârs ?*) son of Danae.

The space, it is true, which separates Ardea

* Sir W. Ouseley has extracted the following passage from a Persian MSS. the Shiráz-Namah, on the origin of Pârs.

"Know that *Pârs*, the son of *Pahlav*, the son of *Sa'm* (or Shem) the son of Noah (on whom be the peace of God!) having established himself in *Pârs*, became sovereign of this country, which derived its name from him; and the *Pahlavi* language, so called after his father *Pahlav*, became general in Pârs." (See Sir W. Ouseley's Travels in various countries of the East, &c., vol. ii. p. 317).

in Italy from Ardea in Párs is immense, and where are the intervening links to join the two extremities of the chain? I do not undertake to solve the difficulty, although I cannot help observing, that Herodotus makes mention of a people settled to the north of the Danube, who were dressed in the fashion of the Medes (or Persians, as both belonged to the Zend race);* while Strabo speaks of a turbulent tribe of *Ardiæi* in Dalmatia, near mount *Ardion*, who were very troublesome to the Romans on account of their predatory habits. (Lib. vii. c. 6.)

The great analogy which comparative philology has found to exist between the Sclavonian (a part of which race extends from the Black Sea to the head of the Adriatic) and Latin roots, with the ancient Zend language, might help to point out the direction in which one of the numerous streams of migration flowed from the East into Europe.

* We know, moreover, on the authority of the same Herodotus, that the Persians adopted the Median dress.

As we are standing on the ground of conjectures, we may indulge in a few more speculations on the subject. Thus it strikes us that a connexion might exist between the *Ardi* and the *Mardi*, whom Nearchus and others place between the Uxii and Persis in the mountains of Parætacene.

The name of *Mardi* is said to be derived, and no doubt very correctly, from the Persian word *mard*, signifying *a man;* this word is still used in the same acceptation, and serves to designate *a man of a strong character*, or *a hero*. The Persians will say, *In mard 'st*, (*this is a man*,) when they wish to convey the idea that the individual alluded to is a man of energy, in contradistinction to *Zaïfé* (the weak), a word usually applied to *women*.

We shall leave to those who have studied the ancient and modern languages of the East the task of tracing the laws of permutation which the words *Ari*, *Ardi*, *Mardi*, *Amardi*, have undergone in the progress of time, and shall merely allude to a peculiarity of speech pre-

valent among the lower classes of Persians, as we do not recollect to have seen it stated before.

To words of one or two syllables, having a definite meaning, the Persians will often add another word which has none, merely for the sake of the rhyme, or by way of euphony. Thus, the word *asp*, a horse, is invariably followed by *masp*, with no signification whatever. In like manner, *húrdi múrdi*, are terms employed to designate all the trifling but necessary articles a traveller stows into small bags, which are flung across the saddle on a journey, in order to have them always at hand, while the heavier baggage is sent on before.* These articles consist, among others, of eatables, as dried fruit, to beguile the traveller on his road. Hence, *hurdi*, may possibly be derived

* Perhaps the obsolete words of *scrip* and *scrippage* may best convey the idea of *hurdi-murdi*. We read in Shakspeare :—

"*Clown*. Come, shepherd, let us make an honourable retreat ; though not with *bag and baggage*, yet with *scrip and scrippage*."—*As You Like It*, Act iii. scene 2.

from *hurden*, to eat; but *mûrdi*, in this case, is a word without any meaning.

The above observations may appear trivial, the more so as words of this description are not tolerated in genteel Persian society, being reckoned *slang* language; but, as they are in the mouths of the people, they form part of the idiom or genius of the language, and, as such, deserve attention; for it often happens, that apparently the most trivial peculiarities, as well in language as in the customs of a people, give a clue to obscure passages in ancient authors and lead to interesting discoveries.*

In following up the stream near which *Ardea* is situated in Ptolemy's map, we find

* We find in some Zend names, where *asp* forms a component part, and is placed at the end of the word, that the letter *m* is introduced whenever the first word terminates with a vowel (probably to avoid the hiatus). Thus, Ari-*m*-asp, dia-m-asp; whereas the same rule is not observable in the following words:—Vescht-asp, Lohr-asp, Porosch-asp, Guersch-asp, hezar-asp, &c. I respectfully submit these observations to our Zend scholars.

another town, which bears the name of *Axima*. During my stay at Behbehán, I learned, that eight farsangs distant from that town, in a northern direction in the mountains, are traces of an ancient and very considerable city, in a pleasant valley, near which the village of *Deh-Dasht* is now situated on the river Kurdistán. Mr. Stoqueler, who crossed the mountains from Behbehán to Isfahán, makes mention of these ruins.* The same traveller speaks of the remains of another town near *Sadaat*, further in the mountains, and of numerous caverns near *Tengh Berarah*, in the hilly country between Behbehán and Kumisheh.†

On turning to Quintus Curtius, we find that Alexander, soon after the capture of Persepolis, penetrated into a mountainous region, covered over with snow and ice, and having ravaged the country of Persia, and reduced *several towns*, he came at last into the country

* See Mr. Stoqueler's "Fifteen Months' Pilgrimage," &c., vol. ii., page 212.

† See note at the end of the chapter.

of the *Mardi*, whom he found living with their families in caves dug in the mountains.*

To any one acquainted with the aspect of the country about Persepolis, it is evident that the cold region of which the historian speaks, as covered with ice and snow, could be no other than the lofty range of the *Ardekán*, to the west and north-west of Persepolis. We know, moreover, from other authorities, that the Mardi lived in that direction, in the mountainous tract between Persis and Susiana, and were neighbours to the *Uxii* highlanders.†

This hilly district, well watered by numerous springs, interspersed by pasture-ground and fertile valleys, fine forests, and, in consequence of its snow-capped mountains, enjoying a much cooler air than the plains to the south, must have possessed great attractions for the early settlers of Iran. When we add to these natural advantages the fact that this part of the country has always been the most difficult of access,

* See Q. Curtius, lib. v. chap. vi.

† See Q. Curtius, lib. v. chap. vi.

we may perhaps be allowed to suggest the propriety of seeking here the *Asylum Persarum*, into which several of Alexander's successors, and the Parthian kings, vainly attempted to penetrate.

The sacred fire of the temple of *Ardjan*, happening to be in the neighbourhood, certainly throws a very favourable light on the subject, and may be considered a weighty argument in support of our conjectures.

If this suggestion have any foundation, then the river *Hedypnes*, which, according to Pliny, took its rise beyond the *Asylum Persarum*,* might suit the Kurdistán or Táb river, although we feel more disposed to identify it with the *Alaï* or *Tezeng*, as it likewise takes its rise in the lofty range of Ardekán to the west of the former river. We shall have to notice the Tezeng stream as we proceed with our journey.

We shall postpone to a subsequent chapter

* Pliny's Natural History, translated into French by M. Poinsinet de Sivray, tom. ii., liv. vi., c. 27, p. 803.

the description of the remains of other towns on the plain of Behbehán, and up the valley into the Bakhtiyari country, as we proceed with the narrative of the journey.

But as the subject may appear of some interest to the antiquary, we beg leave to trespass on the patience of the reader with a few other observations before we quit it.

After enumerating the physical advantages of the highlands of Ardekán, and the lower country of Behbehán, and noticing the existence of numerous relics of antiquity with the sacred fire-temple of Ardjan, we came to the conclusion that this region must have been a favourite resort of the ancient Persians, nay, even their sacred place of refuge—*Asylum Persarum*. May we not go one step further, and inquire whether this El-Dorado may not have formed part of the land of *Ver-effshue*, the fourteenth abode of blessedness, sanctified by Ormuzd, and civilized by Jemshid.* Rhode, in his critical researches on the sacred books

* Vendidad.

of the Zend-people,* and Professor Ritter, in his classical work on geography,† have already pointed to *Persis Proper* as the probable site of *Ver-effshue*, and to *Persepolis* as the seat of the town of *Ver*. The same conjecture might be extended to the valleys about Behbehán, which, in fact, formed part of ancient Persis. The description of the land of *Ver*, is in many respects a faithful picture of the valleys to the south of the Ardekán mountains.‡ In the Zend texts *Ver-effshue* is compared to *Behisht*, *Paradise;* and the Arab writers give the same appellation to the valley of *Sháb-Beván*, not far from Behbehán. The plain of the latter may lay an equal claim to the same title. Surely the extreme productiveness of the soil of Behbehán and Sháb-Beván, the genial warmth and fragrance of the atmosphere, and, above all, the luxuriant

* Rhode's "Heilige Sage des Zend Volks," &c., p. 76.

† C. Ritter's, "Erdkunde," &c., vol. viii. p. 33.

‡ See the second fargard of the Vendidad in Kleuker's Zendavesta.

carpets of the fields, rich with the spontaneous gifts of Flora in the very depth of winter, must have attracted, at a very early period of the world, the attention of mankind, and induced them to congregate in those lovely abodes of nature, which the lively imagination of the East has graced with the epithet of *Behisht*, and to which the name of *Ver-effshue*, meaning "rich in every blessing," was no less applicable.

But this predilection may not have been to the exclusion of the plains of Persepolis and Pasargadæ, for, independently of the city of *Ver*, Jemshid is said to have founded other towns of various sizes, with a population of 2,000 souls in the greater, 1,200 in the less extensive, and 600 in the small towns. Moreover, although the ancient Persians were taught by their legislator to live in cities, they certainly did not entirely abandon the pastoral mode of life, which, indeed, they preserve to this day; and consequently occupied, in the same manner as the Iliyats of Fars do at

present, the valleys in the mountains, and the high table land of Merdasht* and Múrgab, (on which Persepolis and Pasargadæ are situated,) during the summer months, and descended at the approach of winter from the Alpine regions, in a direction towards the Persian Gulf.

The same mode of life is in like manner observed at present by the inhabitants of the southern shores of the Caspian. The whole population of *Amól*, the former capital of the low country of Mazanderán, resort in summer to the highlands of *Lariján*, where they disperse into villages, and only return to their deserted city when the cold weather obliges them to quit the mountains.

We glean from history that, at the time when Persia had attained the zenith of its power, and spread its sway over Media and

* The very name of *Merdasht*, which can be construed into *Merd-dasht*, or the plain of the Merdi, (or *Mardi*,) might lead us to suppose that it was once occupied by that tribe, to whom we have already alluded, as inhabiting the highlands of Arkedán, to the west and north-west of Persepolis.

Babylon, its great kings still preserved their roving habits, for each succeeding season found them established with their courts in a different capital.* These erratic propensities of the Persians, founded on the very nature of the country which they inhabit, are participated in likewise by the brute creation. A peculiarity of this nature is observable on the Persepolitan plain.

On visiting the subterranean passages which branch in various directions under the ruins of Persepolis, I found, as I have already observed, a great number of porcupine bristles, and the dry manure of that animal heaped in the long and narrow corridors. In answer to my inquiries, why no living porcupine was to be seen, I was informed that these animals occupy the cool cells of the now deserted palace of Jemshid, during the heats of summer only, but migrate to the south in thousands as soon as the cold weather commences; about the same time, and nearly in the same direction

* See Brissonius, "De Regno Persarum." Lib. i. § 67.

as the Nomads, who drive their flocks of sheep and goats to the warmer pastures of Jarúm and Láristán towards the Persian Gulf. It is not scarcity of food which prompts the porcupines to quit their royal abode, because the plain of Merdasht has numerous villages, and the fields are always stocked with some sort of grain; it is the cold which drives them away, while instinct directs them to the more genial climate of the south. I was assured that they travel in considerable bodies, and pick out the shortest way, traversing hill and dale. Not one porcupine remains behind; but with the return of spring and warm weather, they resume their wonted quarters under the walls of Persepolis.

The numerous flights of bats which line the interior of the royal tombs, and produce, as asserted by the natives, the black crust with which the walls of those caves are thickly covered, are seen only during the warm season, but disappear as soon as the cold weather sets in. When I visited the tombs in January, I did not find one bat in them.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XII.

Page 302.—With reference to the *mumia*, we find in Yakuti the following, translated by De Guignes :—

"Dans une de ses montagnes (du Fars) est une caverne où l'on trouve de l'eau qui est comme une vapeur ; elle sort des rochers, et on en fait le *moummani* ou *moumiani* blanc, qui est très bon." (See Notices and Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibl. du Roi, tom. ii. p. 422.)

In the "Oriental Geography," translated by Sir W. Ouseley, is a similar passage :—

"There is in the district of *Sumbeil*,* near the borders of *Pars*, a mountain from which fire issues at all times. At night this fire gives light, and smoke comes forth in the day time, and the general opinion is, that there is here a fountain of *naphtha*, or of pitch, which has taken fire.†

In the 2d vol. of the "Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires par une Société de gens de Lettres," p. 256, we read that :—

"Le mont *Bardjan* (probably instead of *Ardjan*) d'où découle cette résine précieuse que les Persons appellent *moumia*, et qui guerit les fractures avec une célérité

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* *Sumbeil* is a district (adds the author of this Arab work) which, in the time of Muhammed ben Wasel, was reckoned among the territories of *Pars;* at present it belongs to the province of Khuzistan.

† "Oriental Geography," p. 77.

miraculeuse." ('Ajaib-oul Mahloukat d' Ahmed de Thous dans ses mélanges—article *moumia* et dans le Djehan Nouma, p. 268.)

May not this *mumia* be the gum mentioned by Dioscorid (iii. 99), which was obtained from Persia, of singularly healing qualities, and hence named *Sarcocolla?* (See Mr. St. John's interesting work, entitled, "History of the Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece," vol. iii., page 406.)

The author of these pages has himself experienced the efficacy of the Persian mumia, on applying it to a bruised side occasioned by a fall down some rocky cliffs. A piece of the hard black substance of which it consists is mixed with melted sheep's fat, and, while hot, the bruised part of the body is well rubbed with it.

Sir William Ouseley learned that the *mummy* gathered in the district of Darabjird was reckoned as the only genuine, all the rest being more or less adulterated, and he derives the *mum-i-ayi* from words implying "the *wax* of a village called *Ayi*." (See his "Travels," vol. ii., page 117, and the Appendix, No. V., page 475.)

To show how high this balsam was estimated by the Persians, the French traveller, Count Ferrières Sauveboeuf, says, that the *mummiayi* was usually among the choicest presents made by the Persian sovereigns to their neighbouring allies. Thus, Ali Murad Khan sent about one ounce of this mummy, contained in a golden box, to the Empress of Russia. (See "Mémoires Historiques Politiques et Géographiques des Voyages," par le Comte Ferrières Sauveboeuf, tom. iii., page 33. Paris, 1790.)

Page 314.—Extract from M. Stoqueler's "Itinerary from Behbehán to Kumisheh, over the Mountains," &c., vol. ii., page 212, &c. :—

"*From Behbehán to Tung-ta-Koh*, six hours.] A fortress on the summit of a mountain pass, occupied by a few individuals. A few date plantations, and patches of cultivation on the table land in the neighbourhood and in the dale beneath. The *Jerahi* flows through the pass.

To Booah, twelve hours.] The ruins of a sombre karavanserai, by the side of a broad mountain stream. There is a great deal of table land in this vicinity; but the road to Booah is over a mass of terrific rocky heights. It was impossible to ride up these acclivities without great risk. The party accompanying the author dismounted, and assisted the mules and horses to ascend; but the precaution taken, and the assistance rendered, did not prevent one laden horse from rolling over a frightful precipice, being dashed to pieces in the fall.

To Deidass (Deh-Dasht?), twelve hours.] The ruins of an ancient and extensive walled town, situated in the heart of a picturesque valley. Within a hundred yards of the entrance of the town, is a ruined karavanserai, and in its immediate neighbourhood flows a mountain river.

To Tengh Berarah, five hours.] A rocky mass, abounding in caverns and recesses, which the Behbehanis proceeding into the mountains invariably make their resting-places. Numerous brooks, formed by the melting snows of the

mountains in the vicinity, furnish an inexhaustible supply of water.

To Safariah, eight hours.] A small cluster of decayed dwellings, surrounded by a few noble trees at the summit of a vast elevation, whence falls a beautiful cascade. This appears to be a permanent location, for as much cultivation is carried on as the small table land will admit; and there is an extensive cemetery attached to the dwellings.

To Sadaat, eight hours.] Ruins of a once spacious city on the peak of a lofty mountain. Part of the buildings were undergoing repair, and a Musjed (the only one in the Bactiyari) had just been raised. About one hundred families dwell here, and devote much attention to the culture of the vine, the produce of which is sent to Shiráz. The whole neighbourhood is exceedingly fertile, and well watered. Roses, apples, walnuts, and plums, grow everywhere in wild abundance. The height of the mountain above the level of the sea must be very considerable, for the thermometer was no more than forty-six deg. Fahrenheit, and the air was piercing cold. The ascent, as well as that of Safariah, is difficult and perilous.

To Khad-Khana Garrin (*Rúd-Khanéhgerm?*), or warm water stream, eighteen hours.] A rapid and a roaring torrent caused by the melting of the snows on the summit of an adjoining mountain. The long and cheerless journey to this spot lies through a succession of rock, forest, and cascade, over awful acclivities, and by the edge of precipices, overhanging deep ravines.

So difficult is the passage of the torrent, that each person bearing a load on his head was obliged to be supported across the stream by two or three others, who could with difficulty keep their legs, though the water only reached their breasts.

To Pellaut (*Felád?*), five hours.] A small village of stone and reed huts, at the base of a rocky hill, skirting a broad plain, where little cultivation of barley and grain is carried on. *At this point is a beaten road which leads to Shiráz.*

To Simiroon, eleven hours.] An extensive town, built on a lofty hill. There is a beautiful fountain which supplies the whole place with water, by means of natural falls. Simiroon is populous and fertile. The fruits are abundant, and of superior quality. The influence of the Beglerbeg of Behbehán ceases at this point, and everything procured must therefore be paid for at an exorbitant rate.

To Coree, six hours.] A walled town, of small dimensions, and trifling population. The people are better than those of Simiroon. Provisions of no kind abundant.

To Comisha, eight hours.] This is an extensive town, containing an excellent karavanserai. It has been too often described to need particular mention."

Page 296.—We find in Edrisi, who wrote in the twelfth century, that *Redjan*, which is the same as *Arejan*, was a district, as well as the name of a town. The passage runs thus in M. Jaubert's French version of Edrisi :—

"Le district de *Redjan* dont nous avons déjà fait mention, et qui compte un grand nombre de villes de grandeurs

diverses, que nous allons indiquer ici avant de donner les itinéraires. Nous disons donc que Redjan, située sur les limites de Khouzistan et de Fars, est une ville belle, riche, offrant des ressources de tout genre et environnée d'un territoire qui produit des raisins, des pêches et des olives. Les eaux cependant y sont de mauvaise qualité et à peine potables. Près de la porte de Redjan, du coté du Khouzistan, on voit sur la rivière de Tab un pont appelé *Deïlemi*, surnom du médecin de Hedjadj-ben-Yousouf. Ce pont n'a qu'une arche soutenue par deux piles distantes entre elles de quatre vingts pas ; la hauteur de cette arche est à peu près égale à sa longueur," &c. (Edrisi, 3me Climat, p. 399.)

Page 306.—After this work had been placed in the printer's hand, I discovered the following passage in D'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale, which I think important to mention, as it will serve to rectify an error into which I have fallen concerning the town of *Cobád*, while it will throw a new light on the subject.

The passage runs thus in the original:—

"*Aber-Cobád*, ville de la province *d'Arragian* située entre les pays de Fars et d'Ahvaz : elle fut bâtie par *Kaï-Cobád* premier roi de Perse de la race des Kaianides dont elle porte le nom. Le mot Persien *Aber* qui signifie *au dessus* marque qu'elle est située sur une montagne," &c.

It appears, then, from the foregoing passage that the town of *Cobád* did not owe its origin to the Sasanian monarch of that name, as I had been erroneously led to suppose, but to *Kaï-Cobád*, the first king of the *Koïanian* race which succeeded the *Pish-Dadian* dynasty,

thus carrying us back to the heroic ages of Persian history.

This circumstance shows at the same time at what a very remote period the country about Behbehán was inhabited by the Persian race, giving a colour to the supposition that the ancient stronghold of the Persians—the *Asylum Persarum*—may, with some propriety, be sought there.

With respect to the conclusion M. d'Herbelot draws from the word *Aber*, which he says means *above*, signifying, therefore, that the town was situated on a hill, I must observe that the village of *Mansurieh*—which occupies the spot, and was built with the materials of the ancient city of *Cobád*—stands on a plain, but not far from the foot of the hills and the banks of the *Tab*. May not *Aber* have been prefixed to it from the circumstance of *Cobád* being placed *above Arrejân*, which lies on that stream about a farsang lower down?

In the same plain of Behbehán, between three and four farsangs to the north-west, are the ruins of the town of *Kaï-Kaús*, a name which reminds us that *Kaï-Cobád* had a son called *Kaï-Kaús*, the grandfather of Cyrus, King of Persia, and who, perhaps, may have founded that city, although the remains appear to denote a Sasanian origin.

CHAPTER XIII.

Learn the existence of some old sculptures in the mountains, and in consequence change my route.—Various routes to Shúshter.—Prevail on Mirza Kúmo to honour Government barats.—Three French travellers ill-treated at Behbehán.—Take leave of my host.—Method of training Arab horses in spring.—Account of the country.—Laws on inheritance among the Iliyats.—Some curious enactments in the Zend legislation.—Course of the Kurdistán river.—Treated with fresh dates at the village of Kaï-Kaús.—Ruins of a town close to it.—Village of *Tashun*.—Tradition concerning the Patriarch Abraham, said to have been thrown into a burning furnace by Nimrod.—Conjectures as to the locality of *Ur* of the Chaldees.—Sacred fish at Tashún.—Anecdote of similar fish preserved at an Imam-Zadeh near Isfahan.—Further account of Tashún.

During the few days I remained at Behbehán, in expectation of receiving some news concerning the Moétemid's progress towards Shúshter, I was made acquainted by Mirza Kúmo with the existence of some curious sculptures and inscriptions, about seven Persian farsangs (twenty-six miles) to the north-west

of Behbehán, among the Behmeï mountains. As no European traveller had ever, to my knowledge, advanced so far in that direction, nor even alluded to these sculptures, I was anxious to ascertain whether the encomiums lavished on them by my host and his friends, as great curiosities, were merited. I thought that, even if their praise was exaggerated, the discovery of some remains of antiquity, however insignificant, would prove welcome, and add to the scanty knowledge we possess of the ancient monuments of Elymaïs. This feeling induced me to abandon my intention of pursuing the lower road, which the late Gen. M'Donald Kinneir had taken on his way from Shúshter to Behbehán and I resolved to follow a more northerly direction, among the mountains in which Tengi-Saúlek was situated. I therefore requested Mirza Kúmo to furnish me with a trusty guide, to show me the valley in question, and then take me straight to the Chief of the Bakhtiyari-Chehárleng, Muhammed-Tághi-Khan, through whose territory I should have

to pass before I could reach the town of Shúshter. My hospitable host not only readily acceded to my wish, but kindly provided me with horses for myself and my servants, as those I had brought from Shiráz could go no further, and as in this unsafe part of the country no muleteers could be found.*

* Although I did not follow the direct road to Shúshter, it may not be reckoned superfluous if I give here the different routes that lead to that city from Behbehán, which I procured from native information.

The one through Rám-Hormúz runs thus:—

	Farsangs.
From Behbehán to Kaï-Káús	2
to Jáúsun . . .	6
to Sultanabad	4
(*Dúr* in Kinneir) to Dehi-Ur (pehamber) . .	4
to the town of Rám-Hormúz .	1
to Derre-bid (the willow defile) .	7
to áb-gúnjishk . . .	7
(Sparrow-water; probably in consequence of scarcity of water in that place).	
to Shúshter	5
	36

The Artillery Sergeant who accompanied me from Shiráz, had been furnished by the Visir of the Prince with a *havalé*, or cheque, on the Governor of Behbehán, to pay him the arrears of his salary and that of the company to which he belonged. The poor man soon found out that it was no easy matter to induce Mirza Kúmo to honour the Government bills, and, therefore, had recourse to me to plead in his behalf. As

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The second route to Shúshter, leaving Rám-Hormúz to the side, has the following stations :—

	Farsangs.
From Behbehán to Cham-Mullah . . .	8
to Sultanabad	4
to Dehi-Ur . . .	4
to Derre-bid	6
to Ab-Gunjid (probably Gunjishk, as in the former route) . .	4
to Shúshter	4
	30

Making a difference of six farsangs less for the latter road.

I had reason to be much satisfied with his services, I could not refuse his request, notwithstanding that the task of expostulating with my host must necessarily be unpleasant. I was fortunate enough to overcome Mirza Kúmo's unwillingness to pay, by making him sensible that his refusal to obey the orders of the Prince might be construed into an open act of rebellion; whereas his ready compliance would shut the mouths of his calumniators.

I am not quite positive, however, that my arguments alone produced the desired effect; for it is not impossible that he yielded from the consciousness of not being sufficiently prepared for resistance.

Persia has so long been exposed to the evils of civil commotions, that the chiefs of distant provinces do not reckon it a political crime to revolt against the constituted authorities whenever they feel themselves in a position so to do. It is not uncommon to hear them say, when speaking of themselves, "*Vakhte yaghi búdem*," "when I was a rebel," &c.

There was another point to which I wished to draw Mirza Kúmo's attention. I had read, a short time before my departure, an article in the "Journal des Débats," wherein it was stated that three French travellers* had been detained and ill-treated at Behbehán, and prevented by the authorities there from prosecuting their journey to Bagdad, by way of Shúshter. I told Mirza Kúmo that this intelligence had reached the ear of the Shah, who was much displeased (which is a fact) that Europeans travelling in his dominions should have been molested and treated with disrespect. I added, that I could expatiate the more freely on the subject, as I had met with much attention and hospitality at his hands, and would reckon it my duty to vindicate his character in this respect before the Shah. Mirza Kúmo assured me that he was absent when those travellers arrived at Behbehán, and had nothing to do with what had taken place. He had afterwards

* M. Texier and the Counts de la Bourdonnaie and Guische, if I am not mistaken.

been given to understand, he said, that the *mehmandar*, or guide, they came with from Shiráz was the only person to blame; for this man, to serve his own purposes, had imposed on the strangers, with a view of extorting money from them. What truth there may have been in this statement I cannot say, although such was likewise the version of the affair which I heard at Shiráz.

January 28, 1841. I left Behbehán, accompanied by my host and a long train of attendants, mounted on fine Arab mares. I may observe, by the way, that the Arabs here are in the habit of making their horses take very violent exercise a short time before they put them to grass. I witnessed an instance of this practised on the animal belonging to my guide, whom Mirza Kúmo had named to show me the curiosities of Behbehán.

It was a fine blood mare, of which the Arab was not a little proud; but he rode it so hard, that the poor animal at last could scarcely

drag one leg after the other, and trembled all over. On expressing my surprise at such inhuman treatment, my ciceroni answered, that it was their custom to fag the horses as much as possible before they turned them out to graze, and that they are all the better for it.

The same practice prevails, it is true, to a certain degree, in other parts of Persia, especially with stallions, in the beginning of spring, by way of curbing their spirit, and making them lean before they are put to grass; but I had never yet seen the system of fagging carried to such a length as in the present instance.

The road lay across a plain, which extends from east to west for upwards of nine farsangs (twenty-nine miles), and has a black fertile soil. The air was pleasantly warm, and impregnated with the balmy fragrance of the *narquiz* (narcissus), which sprang up in wild luxuriance, and covered whole meadows with a white sheet, in the direction of the ruins of Arrejân.

I found in the plains of Behbehán, as well as in my further progress in the mountains, a vast number of caterpillars, crawling on the earth in all directions, with a broad streak of a bright crimson colour over their backs, which they did not lose even when dried, as I preserved several of those insects.

Mirza Kúmo soon bid me farewell, but not before he had committed me to the care of his nephew, Mirza-'Ali, whose guest I was to be for the night, at the village of Kaï-Kaús, two farsangs north-west of Behbehán.

In the suite of Mirza Kúmo was the eldest son of his deceased brother, Mansúr-Khan, the former chief of Behbehán; but the poor young man did not appear to be well at his ease, for it seems the uncle had usurped the power to the prejudice of the nephew, who, as the eldest son of the elder branch, had a right to the succession according to the prevailing custom among Nomadic tribes, from whom it probably passed into the feudal system, and formed the fundamental law during the middle ages of Europe. It

is not, however, an unfrequent occurrence that a younger brother among the Iliyat tribes succeeds to the chieftainship of the clan at the death of the elder brother; but still this generally happens either by violence, or in consequence of the minority and weakness of the next male heir. But as Mussulmans are allowed plurality of wives, the next heir does not always happen to be the first-born son. The nobility of the mother decides the point. Hence the melancholy spectacle of the dreadful hatred which exists between the members of the same family, the plots and intrigues that are carried on in secret, the feuds between rival tribes, terminating either in mysterious tragedies, or open bloodshed.

It is a sad thought to dwell on the heinous feelings of jealousy, rancour, hatred, and revenge that lurk in the breasts of those by nature gentle beings, whose heart was created for love alone, and on the dire effects such vicious sentiments have on their offspring, who are taught from their cradle to hate their brothers and

sisters because another breast has given them suck.

It would suffice to see the interior of a Mussulman ménage, to be convinced of the Divine origin of our Christian faith, which allows but one bosom friend and partner through life.

According to the old law among the Zend race, a man was, as a rule, allowed to have but one wife; and it was only in case she bore no children, that he could take another, and even then not without her consent.*

Speaking of the Zend legislation, I am reminded of some singular laws which existed among that people, namely, if a married daughter, whose father happened to have no male issue, bore a son, that son became the property of her father. In the same manner, if her brother was without a son, her eldest male child became his. Likewise, if a youth happened to die before contracting a marriage,

* See Rhode's "Heilige Sage des Zend-Volks," &c., p. 443.

another young man took a wife in his name, and the first male child was reckoned as if he were the son of the deceased.*

I suspect this latter law was enacted in consequence of the belief the followers of Zoroaster had, in the efficacy of the prayers of the children for the repose of the souls of their departed parents.

About one farsang from the latter place we crossed the river *Kurdistán*,† which is fordable at this spot, leaving on our right, a little up the stream, the villages of *Kazim*, and on the left, those of *Horestán*, *Kurdistán*, and *Huseinabád*.

The river Kurdistán takes its rise in the

* Rhode's "Heilige Sage des Zend-Volks," &c., p. 443.

† I perfectly concur with the opinion of the learned editor of the Royal Geographical Society's Journal, that common Turks and Persians have no notion of giving a general name to any but very large rivers. (See vol. xiii. p. 87.) I shall only add, that as far as my observations go in respect to Persia, even great rivers are not exempt from this rule. Such is the case with the river *Kurdistán* itself, which bears this name in its upper course, and *Jerahi* lower down; although it is a very deep, broad,

hilly country of Serhad-Chenár, to the north or north-east of Behbehán, and passing by Deh-Dasht, the summer residence of Mirza Kúmo, eight farsangs (twenty-six miles) in the mountains, it enters the narrow valley of Tengi-tek-â;* after which it opens to itself a broader passage between the mountains of Bolenghés and Howiz, just above Arreján, and flows in a deep and wide channel, with high banks on either side. This river, after leaving the Behbehán territory, flows in a north-west direction, and joining to the south of Rám-Hormúz the *Tezeng* or *A'lai* river, which comes from the eastern hills, empties

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and rapid stream, receiving many considerable tributaries before it reaches the Kúren. The *Kherkheh* (the Choaspes), likewise, one of the greatest rivers of Persia, is called *Kara-sú*, near Kermanshah and *Gúmasáb*, near Nehavend. The *Kizil-Uzen*, which rises in Kurdistán, changes its name to that of *Sefid-rud*, before it discharges itself into the Caspian Sea, in the province of Ghilán.

* Straits of the deep waters: *tek*, signifying deep in the ancient dialect of the country, and *â*, a contraction of *ab* (water), among the Kurdish and Lúr tribes.

itself into the Kúren under the name of *Jerahi*,* in the *Cha'b* country, whilst another branch, it is said, has a direct communication with the Persian Gulf.†

Mirza 'Ali treated me to some fresh dates, which, next to those of Fesa in Fars, I found the most delicious I had ever tasted, but rather too luscious and very clammy. His village is surrounded by palm-trees, but the season was over, and all the dates were already gathered by the peasants.

January 29. At a quarter-past six, a.m., we were again on horseback. My host accompanied me part of the road to show me some ancient ruins. In the neighbourhood of the village of Kaï-Kaús, are the relics of a town which goes by the same name. In the midst of a quantity of rubbish and loose stones,

* The Kurdistán or Jerahi river, is the *Táb* of the Arab writers, as I shall prove hereafter.

† See M'Donald Kinneir's "Memoir on a Map of Persia," and Ainsworth's "Researches in Chaldea," &c.

rises a lofty pile, known to the inhabitants by the name of *Fil-Khaneh*, or, the elephant's abode. It may probably have been used for that purpose, as it consists of two walls, with a high gateway in each, over which is a window. The era of the building I believe to be Sasanian.

At half-past seven we came to an old square building in the form of a Musulman Imam-Zádéh (saints' sepulchre). The inside is vaulted, and round the building are some straggling tomb-stones. The high hill of *Bodil* is to the right, bearing N.N.E. After we had crossed a low range of calcareous hills, we reached, at eight o'clock, the village of *Chárró*, in the neighbourhood of which, on a plain, are two ruined edifices, built of freestone and white mortar. The larger of these buildings has a long apartment, with three high doorways leading into ruins of inferior dimensions. It has no roof.

Continuing my march in a N.N.W. direc-

tion from the previous night's halting-place, at nine, a.m., I reached *Táshún*.* The chief of this place came out to meet me with some armed horsemen.

Táshún at present is but a poor place; but the ruins of houses, bazaars, palaces, and baths, scattered in all directions, and venerable old trees with massive branches, attest it to have been formerly a considerable and picturesque town, perhaps during the dominion of the Atabegs of Luribúzúrg, as the buildings are apparently modern. According to the natives, however, there exists a tradition that *Táshún* is the spot where the Patriarch Ibrahim, or Abraham, was thrown into a burning furnace by Nimrúd, "the mighty hunter, before the Lord;" and in corroboration of this legend, they adduce the name of the

* I take the liberty to differ with the editor of the above-cited journal of the Royal Geographical Society, (see vol. xiii., p. 88,) who thinks *Táshún* is the same as *Jarsoon*, in Kinneir, (p. 457); the latter is the *Jáúsun* in the first route I give between Behbehán and Shúshter, which lies more to the south-west.

town of *Táshún*, which is derived from *atash*, meaning fire.

Major Rawlinson mentions the same fable, as attached to a place called Manjanik, in Bághi-Malek, in the Bakhtiyari country.*

A circumstance, however, which deserves to attract our notice, is that in the neighbourhood of Táshún, and not far distant neither from Manjanik, where the tradition concerning Abraham and Nimrod, as we have just seen, is likewise kept alive, we find a village called *Ur*, which, according to Scripture, was the name given to the birth-place of Abraham in Chaldea.

Sixteen farsangs west of Behbehán, on the road to Shúshter, is *Dehi-Ur* (or village of Ur),† where, according to the information I obtained at Behbehán, a certain ancient prophet was buried, whose name the natives could not tell

* See "Notes on a March from Zoháb to Khúzistán," in vol. ix. of the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," p. 81.

† *Dur*, in Kinneir's "Itinerary."

me; and as I did not follow that direction, I failed to ascertain any further particulars on the subject.

We read in the Book of Genesis, chap. xii. 28, 31, that *Haran*, the brother of Abraham, died at *Ur* in the Chaldees, before the latter, with his father *Terah*, left the place of their nativity; while Josephus, who wrote the "History of the Jews after the final Destruction of Jerusalem," mentions that the sepulchre of Haran was still to be seen at *Ur* in his days.

The locality of *Ur*, I believe has not yet been fixed, neither have the limits of Chaldea been properly defined; it is not unlikely, however, that they extended thus far east, for we know from Pliny, and even Strabo, that some of the rivers of Susiana discharged their waters into the lake or sea of the Chaldees, probably in the Chá'b country to the south-east of Shúshter.

Not the least curious circumstance in this account is, that *Ur*, like Táshún and Manjanik, should be connected with the notion

of fire, for *Ur*, in Hebrew, literally means *fire*. This, therefore, may be the reason why St. Jerome, in his translation of Nehemiah ix. 7, instead of saying, "Thou art the Lord the God, who didst choose Abram, and broughtest him out of *Ur of the Chaldees*," translates, "Thou broughtest Abram *out of the fire of the Chaldees*."

Táshún has a spring of very clear water, with much foliage around it, wherein sacred fish are kept. This is usually supposed to denote the antiquity of the spot. There are still many reservoirs of water in Persia wherein fish are held sacred, and this superstition is probably of Pagan origin.

On a journey from Isfahán to Hamadán, through Hunsár and Gulpeigán, in 1840, I happened to stop one day at an Imam-Zadeh, or tomb of a Mussulman saint, shaded by beautiful chinars (the eastern plane-tree), close to which there was a pond containing a vast number of fish. The Mutaveli, or guardian of the tomb, on learning that my servants

were disposed to catch some fish for our supper, came to remonstrate, and, in order to dissuade us from committing an act, which in his sight appeared so sacrilegious, related a miracle that had been wrought at this place a century ago.

At the time Isfahán fell into the hands of the Afghans, two men of that nation came to this Imam-Zadeh, and, although they were warned by the keeper of the temple that the fish in the pond were sacred, helped themselves to them before retiring to rest. When lo! the next morning one of the blasphemers was found dead, and the other, from a *Sunni dog* ("as all the Afghans are," observed my narrator), became, through a miracle of Hezreti Ali, a true *Shia*.

While the good man was telling his tale, the fish were frying on the pan, and, however they may have operated on the Afghans, I found on waking the next morning that they had not the same effect on me.

Táshún has five villages under its jurisdiction,

and pays yearly to the Governor of Behbehán the sum of 500 tománs, equal to 250*l.* sterling. The produce consists chiefly of wheat, barley, Indian corn, kunjéd, or sesamum, peas, beans, cotton, &c. The peasants dispose of their surplus produce to the wandering tribes that live in the neighbouring mountains in exchange for the produce of their flocks.

CHAPTER XIV.

Set out for the valley of Tengi-Saúlĕk.—Necessary precautions against the Bahmeï mountaineers.—Description of the road.—Black rock, with bas-reliefs and inscriptions in unknown characters.—Another sculptured stone in the same recess of the mountains.—Passage of a letter from M. E. Boré on the subject of the above inscriptions.—Conjecture as to their resemblance to the *Tamul* character.—Cypress Grove.—Elymite worship of Anaïtis.—Landseer on Sabæan antiquities.—Curious analogy between the second bas-relief at Tengi-Saúlek, and a passage in "Vathek."—Communication with Isfahán.—Worn-out pavement.—Night spent in the open air.—The young Teshuni pehlevan.

The orders of Mirza Kúmo had preceded me at this place, and the chief of Táshún, with half a dozen well-armed horsemen, and a dozen strong-limbed peasants with matchlocks on their shoulders and clubs in their hands, were ready to attend me to the valley of Tengi-Saúlek. This precaution was necessary on account of the wild habits of the Bahmeï, an outlawed tribe,

who rove about in this mountainous tract of country, and scarcely recognise any authority whatever. They were, moreover, at the time in open feud with the Governor of Behbehán.

We now moved in the direction of north-west, having to our right stupendous mountains, bearing from south-east to north-west, and another range of calcareous hills of less altitude, in a parallel line on the left. The road soon became very rugged, and the country around us dreary, and entirely devoid of vegetation. We crossed the dry beds of several mountain streams, and arrived at the entrance of Tengi-Saúlek at noon, after a tedious march of three hours.

Here we halted, sent out scouts to examine whether the coast was clear, and placed videttes to give warning in case of a surprise. Having ascertained that all was right, we entered the narrow defile, hemmed in between lofty rocks, which overhang the path. A mountain stream flows below. As we toiled on by a steep ascent among loose stones, we

came at times upon an old pavement, the polished stones of which were so slippery that the horses could with difficulty advance. The path soon widened, and we found ourselves in a grove of oaks, cypresses, and the kúhnár. It was in this retired glade that I found the object of my search.

A huge black rock, with yellow streaks, thirty or forty feet in height, and eighty or ninety in circumference, stands detached from the rest. There are bas-reliefs and inscriptions on two of its sides. The first represents an altar, surmounted by a conical pile somewhat in the shape of a sugar-loaf, round which a fillet is tied in a knot, with two ends streaming downwards. Close to this altar stands the mobed, or high priest. A conical cap is placed on a very bushy head of frizzled hair, and a short beard, with a pair of mustachios, covers the lower part of the face. The right arm, clothed in a narrow striped sleeve, is extended towards the altar, while the left, partly effaced, is stuck in his bosom. The

figure is clad in a short garment, which descends to the knees. Beneath this appears a striped under-gown, and wide trousers, or shálvárs, used by the Persians at the present day. A loose tunic, thrown over the right shoulder, likewise descends to the knees. I have dwelt more minutely on this figure, because it is the only one of the whole group which is in a tolerable state of preservation.

On the right side of the mobed is a group of nine figures, which, with the exception of one nearest the priest, and seated on a low stool, are in an erect posture, but so dilapidated that none of their faces can be made out. The four figures below this group, with two smaller ones, are still less discernible; and another figure under them, close to the ground, is not much better. On the extreme right, a figure on horseback, with a bow and arrow, is in the attitude of attacking a wild beast, which is standing on its hind legs. It is difficult to decide whether it be a lion, a bear, or a wild boar. Close to the latter is a rude inscription

on the stone, of five lines, partly obliterated, and in characters unknown to me.

An inscription in similar characters, containing likewise five lines, is carved under the altar, the two last lines of which are effaced more than the rest.

On the second face of the rock are four persons in a row. The principal figure is reclining on a couch,* with the left arm on a cushion, and holding in the right hand a circlet. The head is ornamented by two clusters of thick hair, but not one feature of the face can be distinguished. Two figures are seated at the foot of the couch, each with an arrow-headed spear in the right hand. One of them has a sort of diadem on the head, consisting of six spreading rays, with little globules at the extremity of each ray.

Behind the couch stands a figure on tip-

* In Sir Gardner Wilkinson's description of the manners and customs of the Egyptians, I have found the sketch of a couch, which bears some resemblance to the one in question. See vol. ii. p. 201.

toe, so much damaged that it was with difficulty I could trace the outline. The head, as is the case with the greater part of the figures, has likewise a profusion of hair. It has also a tuft on the crown of the head. Below this group are some faint traces of three more figures, in a frame scooped out in the rock. To the left of the two armed figures above mentioned, I found a third inscription, consisting of five lines.

Opposite to the monolite just described is another stone, somewhat smaller, and in connexion with other rocks. It is at a short distance from the former, partly shaded by trees, and bears no inscriptions; but the sculptures on it are in better preservation than those on the large stone. They represent a figure on horseback, in full career, carrying a spear in a horizontal position. The figure is seated sideways, with the legs hanging down the right side of the horse; and to judge by the slender form of the upper part of the body, and the curve discernible over the breasts, I should

pronounce it to have been meant for a female. The features of the face are completely obliterated; but the shape of the head is graceful, with a cluster of hair on each side. The figure leans somewhat forward.

The front part of the horse is greatly damaged; the hind-quarters are in better condition, and ornamented with trappings.

Three dwarfish figures are seen behind the rider, who is rather above the ordinary size; the one nearest to it is in the attitude of hurling a stone, which he holds with both his hands over his head, at the figure on horseback. The second dwarf, placed behind the former, is unstringing a bow, while the third lies prostrate under his feet, with the head and arms downwards, and the hair in a disordered state. I must not omit to draw attention to the hammer under the feet of the foremost dwarf, it being an attribute peculiar to the dwarfish figures that are met with among the Babylonian antiquities.

With respect to the weapons, we have seen in two instances, and on two different bas-reliefs, that the bow constituted their principal instrument of attack, thus verifying the words of Jeremiah, when, on predicting the wrath of God against Elam (the very country in question), the inspired Prophet says: "Behold, I will break the *bow* of *Elam*, the *chief* of their might." (Jeremiah xlix. 35.) Strabo likewise mentions somewhere that the Elamites of the mountains were skilful archers.

Without presuming to give any opinion as to the probable antiquity of these sculptured remains, which I leave to the learned world to decide, I shall merely observe that the style of the bas-reliefs appears different from all that I have seen at Persepolis, on the plain of Murgáb, at Nakshi-Rustam, Nakshi-Rejeb, Bisitún, Takhti-Bóstán, Shapúr, and Nakshi-Behrám. The character of the inscriptions likewise appears to differ from the arrow-headed, but my friend M. Eugène Boré, a

competent judge in these matters, is of opinion that there exists some analogy with the Pahlevi alphabet.

I take the liberty of transcribing a passage of a letter, M. E. Boré wrote me on the subject in March, 1841 :—

"I am about carefully studying your interesting letter, and shall take the liberty of communicating the result of your discoveries to our Asiatic Society, by transmitting to it the three inscriptions of Tenghi-Saúlek, which I have not deciphered, but the value of which I can already appreciate, as they give us a new alphabet having affinities with the Pahlevi, the Sabean, also called the Mendean, or writing of Adler, from the name of the learned German who has paid so much attention to it, presenting, at the same time, analogies with the graphical system of the Chaldeans and Phenicians. The illustrious Gesenius, known by his fine work on the 'Antiquities of Phenicia,' recently published, will certainly derive much curious information

from your copy, and you must expect to receive his thanks."*

It strikes me, moreover, that the inscriptions at Tengi-Saúlek bear some resemblance to the fac-similies of Indian writing, which Anquetil Duperron gives in his introduction to the Zend-Avesta, in the *Tamul* language.†

As I was now in ancient Elymais, I could not divest myself of the impression that I was standing perhaps on the very

* "Je vais méditer votre intéressante lettre, et je me permettrai l'indiscretion de faire savoir le résultat de vos découvertes à notre Société Asiatique, en lui transmettant les trois inscriptions de Tenghi-Saoulek, que je n'ai pas déchiffrecs, mais dont je puis dejà apprécier la valeur, en ce qu' elles nous donnent un alphabet nouveau et très ancien tenant à la fois du *Pehlvi*, du Sabéen, dit aussi *Mendéen* ou écriture d' *Adler*, du nom du savant allemand qui s'en est beaucoup occupé, tout en présentant aussi des analogies avec le système graphique des Chaldéens et des Phéniciens. L'illustre Gesenius connu par son bel ouvrage, assez recent sur les antiquités de la Phénicie tirera certainement de précieuses indications de votre copie et attendez-vous à recevoir ses remercimens."

† See "Anquetil Duperron's Discours Préliminaire to the Zend-Avesta," vol. i. p. clxxi. planches i. ii. iii.

ground once sacred to the Goddess *Anaïtis*, or *Myletta*, where the Elymites of old had performed for ages past their religious rites and mysteries in their holy groves. The presence of the cypress grove seemed to corroborate the fact, and heightened the illusion; notwithstanding that the learned Mr. Landseer, in his most ingenious "Researches on the Sabæan Antiquities," has raised a doubt on that question, by declaring that the word *ashre* never could have meant *a grove*, but designated the BLESSER, among the nations who worshipped the host of heaven, and was, at the same time, an astronomical implement in the hands of their priests.*

Had the ably written tale of the "Caliph Vathek" been known to me at the time I visited Tengi-Saúlek, I might, with a little effort of the imagination and a deal of credulity, have fancied myself in the valley to which the diminutive Gulchenrouz had been conveyed to screen him from the jealous eye of the Caliph. In the sculptured figure of the female

* See Mr. Landseer, on "Sabæan Antiquities."

on horseback, pursued by pigmies, I might have detected the intention of the sculptor to represent the scene where the dwarfs are attacking the Caliph's mother, Carathis, who, mounted on her Aboulfaki, had come to destroy their youthful charge.

We can readily admit, that in the breast of a critic some scruples may have arisen on examining the details. Abulfaki was a camel, and, according to the narrative, the weapons used by the dwarfs were the nails of their fingers, which they employed to scratch the face of Carathis, "with the utmost zeal;" whereas, in the bas-relief, the pigmies are armed with more warlike weapons, in the shape of bows and arrows, as well as huge stones, commensurate with their own size. But then this discrepancy might have arisen from a poetical license of the sculptor-artist, who, together with his brother poets, we all know, indulge at times in similar freaks of fancy, with the hope of adding a greater effect to their respective productions.

But had there been any misgivings on the

subject, or any doubts left, the geographical position of the country was best calculated to remove them and favour the delusion; for it so happens that Tengi-Saúlek lies in the very direction the Commander of the Faithful is made to pursue along the mountains on his journey from Samarrah (near Bagdad) to the ruins of Istakhr, in the plain of Persepolis. It is an agreeable task thus to be able to point out to the lovers of romance who may take delight in the destinies of Vathek, the neighbourhood where he first saw, and, as a matter of course, became enamoured of his dear Nouronihar.

But, setting jest aside, we must still confess it to be a curious coincidence that a mere work of fancy should meet with such a striking corroboration in reality, and that in the very vicinity where the supposed scene is related to have taken place. There would have been nothing wonderful in this had Tengi-Saúlek been previously known, but no European traveller, to my knowledge, has ever described it until now, and I question whether it ever has been mentioned

by Eastern writers. Had the English author of Vathek been informed of the existence of the bas-reliefs at Tengi-Saúlek, he surely would have communicated the discovery to the learned world.

Notwithstanding that Mr. Beckford adverts in his preface to the eastern origin of the tale of Vathek, I still felt much inclined, on perusing the work, to give him the credit, not only of the embellishments, but of the whole invention. It now strikes me, that if the original was really found in the East, we may in that case account for the fact of the bas-reliefs at Tengi-Saúlek having inspired the imagination of an Arab romancer who may have visited the spot before he wrote his tale.

I learned from my guides, that there exists a communication between the valley of Tengi-Saúlek and Isfahán, over the mountains, and although the road is very steep and rugged, still, to judge by the slippery, worn-out pavement, above alluded to, it formerly must have been much frequented, perhaps at the time when

the sculptured stones were held as objects of particular devotion. This road probably joins in a north-eastern direction the route which leads from Behbehán over the mountains to Kúmisheh, and from thence to Isfahán.*

On our way back, I found some more old sculptures on a stone close to the road, but, owing to long exposure to the air and rain, the figures were nearly all effaced, the stone being, like the two former, of a calcareous substance, and very susceptible of atmospheric influence. So that at Tengi-Sáulek I fancy it is the hand of nature that has been busy in effacing the work of man, and not the mis-

* There appears a striking resemblance in the sounds of *Saúlek* and the town of *Solake*, mentioned in "Strabo" (lib. xvi. c. i.), and which could not have been far distant; while the neighbouring ruins of *Tashún* (from *atesh*, fire) reminds us of the town of *Azara*, which probably likewise took its derivation from *Azr*, fire; it was also placed by Strabo in this part of the country.

I throw out these suggestions merely as curious coincidences; for the country requires to be more minutely explored than I had the leisure or the means of doing before anything decisive can be said on the subject.

chievous chisel of the fanatic Arab, elsewhere so active in destroying the ancient monuments of the land of Irán.

The day had nearly closed when we emerged from the defiles of Tengi-Saúlek, and I urged on my retinue in order to reach betimes the Imam-Zadeh of Bábá-Ahmed, one and a-half farsang distant, where I intended to halt; but as the road lay through an uneven country, and part of my attendants were on foot, we made little progress, and I was forced to halt at the foot of the mountains of Náuser, somewhat more than a farsang to the W.S.W. of Tengi-Saúlek, and pass the night in the open air. The active mountaineers soon collected fuel from the kúhnár and other thorny trees, which grow on the skirts of the mountain, and, piling the branches into large heaps, set fire to them. This blazing pile was to serve various purposes—that of cooking our suppers, keeping warm our party, and scaring beasts of prey and the no less wild Bahmeï.

One of my guards in particular attracted

my notice as a splendid specimen of an eastern Apollo, with the strength of a Hercules, although but a youth of nineteen or twenty years of age. He was rather above the middle size, with wavy black hair falling on his manly shoulders, sparkling jet eyes, a fine Greek nose, and the lower features of the face rather diminutive than otherwise, whilst his dark but clear complexion contrasted admirably with the whiteness of his regularly set teeth. He did not *appear* to be strongly built, but all his limbs were in such elegant proportion that they communicated to his whole figure a perfect degree of *aplomb*.

The only defect a European eye might have detected in his person, was that his toes were slightly turned in,—a feature rather common among Persians, and which, in this instance, may have denoted strength. For if we judge by analogies, and seek for examples in the brute creation, we shall find that one of the requisites of a strong horse is to have the hoofs of its fore feet somewhat bent in;

at least such is the criterion of a good horse among Persian jockeys. It generally denotes a broad chest, and is a sure sign that a horse so constituted will not rub one leg against the other. The same feature in its hind quarters prevents the knees from knocking together; and this amplitude between the hind legs is what the natives call *asp shalvari gushad*, literally *a horse in broad trousers.* The opposite quality, or what we signify by the term knock-kneed or cow-legged, when the knees meet, is always a proof of a weak horse. But to return to my Táshún guide. His companions called him the *Pahlevan*, a name now given to Persian wrestlers by profession, but which formerly denoted a hero. Thus Rustám was one of their great *Pahlevans** of old.

* We read in a Finnish heroic poem, entitled "Kalevala," an account of a monstrous bull, whose horns were so far asunder, that a swallow required a whole day to fly from one horn to the other. A long while no one could be found capable of killing that animal; until at length a certain *Palvonem*, it is said, appeared to perform the task. This

This modern Rustám was always the foremost of the party, and at the close of the evening, when the rest were spent after a fatiguing day's march on foot, over an uneven ground, he alone appeared fresh, and in the gayest of humours, running before the horsemen, or nimbly avoiding them when pursued. In order to procure fuel for us, he would place his feet against the trunk of a moderate-sized tree, at some elevation from the ground, and then taking hold of the thick boughs, he would with a swing and a jerk, break the stem, and bring the tree down, together with its branches, like Sampson of old, pulling down an edifice by laying hold of and shaking the pillars on which it rested.

I had a great mind to take this prodigy into my service for the rest of the journey, and

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word *Palvonem* bears a striking resemblance to the Persian name of *Pahlevan*, and was, in all probability, used in the same acceptation to designate a strong powerful man. This, I believe, is not the only point of resemblance between the *Finnish* and the *Zend* languages.

introduce him to the Shah, and he would willingly have accompanied me to Teherán, had I possessed a spare horse.

The Persians are in general a fine race of people; there is much of the Arab, Georgian, and Turkish blood in their veins. In the course of my rambles in those countries, I have often met, especially among the Kurds, with remarkably handsome and well-built men; but I never recollect to have seen a more perfect model of manly beauty than this youthful Pahleván of Táshún.

CHAPTER XV.

Imam-Zadeh of Bábá-Ahmed.—Búl-feriz.—Persian medicine.—Pursued by Bahmëi highlanders.—Sahraï-Petek.—Dalún.—The Allar river.—A poisonous plant.—Sarila and its inquisitive inhabitants.—Ruins of an ancient town.—Impudent Mollahs.—Anecdote of a Dervish.—The Tezeng river.—Meï Dovid.—Ruins of a Sasanian toll-gate.—Line of communication between Susiana and Central Persia.—Local Traditions.—A Talisman.—Rustám's stables.—Behmeï guide.—Food of the wandering tribes.—Ruins of Manjanik.—The Abi-Zerd.—Baghi Malek.—Kal'eh-Túl.—Meet an Englishman there.—Proceed together to the camp of the Bakhtiyar chief.—Bakhtiyari tombs.—Symbolical animals of Persia.—Ruins of the plain of Halegún.—Arrival at Mál-Amir.

On the 30th, before sunrise, I was once more on horseback, and dismissing my foot attendants, who returned to Táshún, took with me only such as were mounted. The weather was pleasantly warm, and, after an hour's ride, we arrived at Baba-Ahmed. At first we skirted the mountain of Naúzer, and

proceeded, after having rounded it, over uneven ground, much resembling that which we had traversed the previous day, consisting chiefly of gypsum hillocks, entirely destitute of habitations, but offering here and there patches of green turf and brushwood, especially along the course of a mountain stream which we crossed.

In this desolate region, where there is little to relieve the eye, Baba-Ahmed may be reckoned a very picturesque place. The white conical cupola of the Imam-Zadeh, wrought in relief, peeping through a cluster of palm-trees, gives to the shrine the appearance of an immense pine-apple.

Baba-Ahmed has some clear springs, and is surrounded by high reeds and grass. The spot is held in great veneration among the Lur tribes.

After we had knocked for some time at the gate, it was at last opened by an old dervish, from whom we learned that he is obliged to shut himself up closely every night for fear

of the intrusion of a lion which haunts the spot, and disturbs his slumbers with its roaring. This story may have been an invention to scare away other intruders; but be this as it may, my guides were very glad we had not reached the Imam-Zadeh on the previous night, because, if the lion did really lurk in the neighbourhood, it would certainly have made free with one of their horses, which they would have turned out to graze during the night.

Lions are seldom known to attack men in these parts: they generally fall on cattle. My guides confirmed, however, what I had heard before, that many years back a lion, which had established itself in the thickets near Daghúmbezún, between Behbehán and Basht, used to attack caravans in open day, and, having once tasted of human flesh, fell on men in preference to cattle.

The old dervish had a female companion, much about his own age, of threescore and ten, to solace his weary hours. Notwithstanding her blindness, the poor woman showed

us the way to the shrine of the saint; but as I happened to be the foremost of the party, she hesitated to open the door; perhaps she scrupled to usher a Kafir or an Infidel into the presence of the holy inmate of the cell. I, therefore, cut the Gordian knot myself, and entered the shrine, followed by the rest.

In the middle of a dark vaulted apartment, feebly lit by a few lamps, stands a four-cornered sarcophagus, covered over with a patched chintz stuff. On the lid are several tin lamps, brought there as offerings. The whole is in a most wretched condition. While my zealous Mussulmans went barefoot* round the coffin, kissing the four sides of the wooden chest, and muttering low incantations, the old woman

* The Persians always take off their boots or slippers when they enter into a mosque or visit the shrine of their holy men, giving as a reason, that Moses was commanded by God to leave his slippers on approaching the burning bush, because he was treading on holy ground: "Put off thy shoes from thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." (Exodus iii. 5.)

The institutions of the Zend-Avesta, which bear a

knelt and loudly prayed for the success of all our enterprises. A few silver coins showed to her that her meaning was understood.

We were told that a few years back a holy dervish came to live at Baba-Ahmed, which he repaired, and used to entertain travellers at his own cost. His fame soon spread throughout the neighbourhood, and a Bahmeï hoping to profit by his supposed wealth, slew him one night, but as soon as the bloody deed was perpetrated, the murderer was so frightened that without turning to look behind him, or carrying away the least thing, he fled to the mountains, and was never seen nor heard of afterwards. This singular event, partaking of the marvellous, will serve probably, together with the roaring lion, as a warning and a check for other ill-intentioned Bahmeïs not

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resemblance in some peculiar customs with the Mosaic dispensation, differ essentially in this instance. A disciple of Zoroaster never dared to tread on the earth with bare feet, because the earth, being the creation of Ormuzd, was reckoned pure and holy.

to commit a similar assault on the present guardians of Baba-Ahmed, who, let us hope, will be left in peace and quiet to end their days at the shrine of their Imam.

Baba-Ahmed is nearly west of the entrance of Tengi-Saúlek, at the distance of one and a-half farsang (five and a-quarter miles). The road here winds over a hilly country in a north-west direction. We soon (seven o'clock, a.m.) crossed the river Mogher, coming from Tengi-Mogher, and then another river: both are greatly choked up with rushes, in which, my guide informed me, lions generally hide themselves during the day.

At three-quarters past seven, we traversed another mountain stream. At nine, there was an ascent, and then followed a steep descent; the country was much broken into hill and dale. At a quarter past nine, the village of Bú-l-feriz became discernible in the direction north by N.N.E. At half-past nine, we crossed the river of Bú-l-feriz. At a-quarter past ten, a.m., we turned to N.N.W. by N.W.,

and passed by the remains of some stone walls. At three-quarters past ten, we crossed two rivulets, the second was a stream of some size, but both were overgrown with high reeds (kamish). At eleven, a.m., our party ascended a hill, and went along a high table land, with traces of cultivated ground and former habitations. It had been inhabited by the Bú-l-ferizi, who not able to resist the encroachments of the Bahmeï, had deserted the spot and removed nearer Behbehán.

The meadows are covered with narcissuses, and another bulbous plant, with a root as large as a strong muscular fist, and called by the natives *piyáz* (onion), *'unsul*, or *piyazi Gúristan*, because it sometimes grows among tombs.* This plant is known to the Persian apothecaries, and used, if I recollect right, as an astringent. The late Hakim-Bashi of the Shah 'Mirza-Baba (a man esteemed and honoured by all who knew him) requested me before I set out on my

* Gúristan, or Kabristán, means a burying-ground in Persian.

journey, to procure him, if possible, some bulbs of this plant, which I did, and, at the same time, sent a few to Mr. Fisher, the Director of the Botanical gardens at St. Petersburg. I have since had the pleasure of seeing one of these plants thriving under the assiduous care of that gentleman. I am told that it bears a blue and white flower.

At a quarter past eleven, a.m., we crossed a stream covered with reeds; the country was still hilly, and the mountains of Naúzer remained in sight to the south-east. At noon we were threading a very devious and craggy ascent, winding among high mountains which commanded it on the right and left. As we proceeded, we espied some armed men advancing in the same direction as ourselves along the heights, apparently with the intention of intercepting us at the crest of the pass which we were approaching, and calling to others who were hid from sight to join them. Their voices, which were taken up by the echo, and repeated in the mountains, were anything but pleasant

music to our party, consisting in all of six men, with four muskets between the whole; but there was no receding, and so we moved on. On reaching the summit, we found the assembled mountaineers apparently inoffensive beings; they were Bahmeï shepherds of the Mahmedi (Muhammedi) tribe, who had taken us for their enemies, the Akhmedi, and had assembled to defend themselves and their flocks of sheep. Perhaps, likewise, our firearms and martial appearance commanded their respect. Be it as it may, this little incident (when it was over) was considered as rather a welcome episode to relieve the monotony of this day's tedious march.

At half-past twelve, from the summit of the mountains along which we moved, I took the direction of the villages of Paték and Dalún, lying to the north on the plain below.

Here the hills on our right slope gradually down to the plain, having the Mungasht mountains behind them, covered with snow. In order to elucidate the features of the country

through which we have been travelling, I shall cast a retrospective glance over the road I have just passed.

From Behbehán the general direction is north-west; from the village of Táshún a secondary range of calcareous hills runs parallel to the high chain which constitutes the south-western continuation of Zagros. Both are intersected by valleys and ravines, formed by the rivers and streams which flow in a south-westerly direction into the plain of Rám-Hormuz (or Rúmiz, as the natives pronounce it), and the Chá'b country.

The great chain bears different appellations from the defiles that divide it; thus, near Tashún, it is called Tengi-bend (Barrier Strait, or The Narrows); beyond it, to the north-west, Tengi-Bejeck, where the Yussufi live; Tengi-Sáulek, with the Bahmeï tribe; Tengi-Mogher; and, lastly, Tengi-Bú-l-feriz. This range is very steep, and mostly barren, although the oak and other forest trees at times meet the eye.

At three-quarters past one, p.m., we descended upon the plain of Patek (Sahraï-Patek), after having left behind us the encampments of some Behmeï Iliyats, under the sway of Khalil-Khan, and reached the village of New Patek, beyond the ruins of the old Patek. This village is inhabited by the Janeki, to which tribe the present chief of the Bakhtiyari, Chehar-leng, belongs, by the mother's side.

At three-quarters past two, p.m., we crossed the river of Allar, or Abi-Talkh, a considerable stream, running from east to west, between high banks. I met here with a poisonous shrub, called *herzeli*, which I had gathered before on the banks of the Zóhab river, on the frontiers of Bagdad, during my journey into Kurdistán. It is affirmed that animals die as soon as they eat of it.

The village of Dalún, with an Imam-Zadeh, similar in exterior to that of Baba-Ahmed, was left behind on the right. At three-quarters past three, p.m., we arrived at Sarila, inhabited

by the Zengheneh, a Kurdish tribe from Kerman-Shah, and brought to this place by Nadir-Shah, at the time when he transplanted the Bakhtiyari to the Túrkoman frontier. The colony of the Zengheneh consisted originally of 2,000 families, which from various causes are now reduced to 400.*

The village of Sarila is chiefly built of reeds, and surrounded by a wall of the same materials; but offering, on the whole, a cleanly appearance. The lower part of the hut into which I was introduced was plastered over with clay, and whitewashed, so as to look very neat; but scarcely was I seated, when the place was thronged with all such as were inquisitive,—and pray where on the face of the

* The Zengheneh were a very considerable and powerful tribe during the Sefavi dynasty in Persia, but have now lost much of their importance. The late Amiri-Nizam, or General-in-Chief of the regular troops of the Shah, belonged to this tribe, and was not less esteemed for the nobleness of his character than for his high birth, his family being reckoned amongst the most ancient and noble in the kingdom.

globe are men not inquisitive, aye, and women too?

After allowing them for awhile to indulge in their laudable thirst after ethnology, as I was probably the first Frengi who had ever visited their village, I begged to be excused if, after a fatiguing day's journey, I happened to prefer their room to their company. The elder part of the community seemed to take the hint very kindly, and retired; but it was more difficult to get rid of the juvenile population of Sarila. They dispersed for a moment, but soon besieged once more the entrance of the hut, which had no door to it, and stared at the stranger-guest with their mouths wide open; bursting ever and anon into a fit of laughter, and then scampering away to acquaint their play-fellows with the wonderful things they had just witnessed. Presently fresh swarms swelled their ranks.

Children are the same in all countries; and wherever play and merriment are the order of the day, there they are sure to throng, as

flies are attracted by sugar. I myself, notwithstanding the repose I stood in need of, enjoyed their fun, which they were not backward in perceiving, and therefore redoubled their pranks. But my Persian servant probably judged that it would be derogatory to my dignity were I to suffer their freaks any longer, so he wisely dispersed the merry party with his kamchi, or whip, threatening at the same time to burn their fathers, *pederetra misusenem*, if they did not desist.

On the 31st, having ascertained that there were some ruins of an ancient town in the vicinity, I rose early, and, taking my host, the *kedkhúda*, or chief of the village, for my guide, hastened to the spot in the hope of finding some old inscriptions, but I was sadly disappointed in meeting only with heaps of stones and mortar. These ruins commence a little to the north of the village of Sarila, on the lower declivities of the mountains, and extend to the south-east for upwards of a mile. Amidst a confused mass of stone some low-vaulted apart-

ments are still visible. Water was brought to this spot from the river Tezeng, or 'Alaï by means of a drain in the rock, like the watercourse on Kúhi-Rahmet at Takhti-Jemshid (Persepolis), which runs along the face of a mountain for a considerable distance. Further to the south-east another channel was hewn in the solid rock, for the purpose of conducting water from a spring in the hills to the ancient town of Kal'eh Gebr, (Gebr's castle,) the remains of which are scattered over the plain below, about half a farsang (two miles) to the east of Sarila, having the village of Dalún to the south. These, as well as the ruins on the brow of the hill, consist of freestone, white cement, with here and there a broken wall, and some grave-stones; but I looked in vain for old inscriptions. I was told by the kedkhúda that about seven farsangs (twenty-nine miles) to the north of this ruined town there is a fort in the mountains called *Obíd*, to which only a foot-path leads; and there it is said inscriptions are to be found. I must, however, warn travellers

not to place too much reliance on what is told them by the natives, for I have often been led astray by their high-flown panegyrics on places which really did not merit the trouble of going out of one's way to see. I in no way throw out this observation with the intention of deterring any future traveller from following up the indications he may glean on his way, in this, comparatively speaking, *terra incognita;* every corner is interesting, and I only regret that time would not allow me to investigate more minutely these unexplored regions.*

I was therefore not loth to remunerate my guide for what he had shewn me, but I felt some reluctance to open my purse to a speculating Mollah, who joined our party, riding on a donkey with his legs touching the ground, and who, because he wore a dirty towel wrapped round his shaved head,

* Two other ruined places in the mountains, called Kalasir (Kal'eh-Ser) and Pútú, four farsangs (fourteen or fifteen miles) to the east, are said to have been formerly under the jurisdiction of Kal'eh Gebr.

and pretended to be descended from the Prophet, persuaded himself he had an indisputable right to a gratification from me. I had made it a rule not to countenance their pretensions, whenever they had no better claim, than merely "leurs beaux yeux;" but in the present instance, being completely alone in a tract unknown to me, and ignorant of the influence the turbaned personage might possess over his countrymen, I thought it more prudent to infringe on that rule.

The impudence of this class, as well as that of the dervishes, is sometimes past bearing, and, strange to say, they not only contrive to impose on the mass with impunity, but even the great and the powerful are often induced to acquiesce in their whims.

When the Shah was setting out on his expedition against the Turkomans, he was accosted on the road by a dervish, who harangued his Majesty for some time; the long and the short of his speech was, that he wished to accompany the Shah but had no

means of procuring a horse for himself. The King kindly ordered that a mule should be given him out of the Royal stables, and presently my dervish was seen astride his newly-acquired beast, with his bare feet thrust into the stirrups of the pack-saddle, his long matted hair hanging down his shoulders in picturesque disorder, clad in a grey camel khalat, secured by a rope, which was twisted round his loins, and looking as proud, and infinitely more independent, than the motley throng of Khans, who were cracking jokes at his expense. When the *Ordú* halted for the night, *Kaússar-Shah* (for that was the name of the favoured dervish) quietly took his mule to the Shah's stables, there to be fed and taken care of until the next morning, when he once more vaulted into his pack-saddle, and resumed the march.

At seven, a.m., I resumed my journey from the ruins, leaving to my left two Imam-Zadehs, and reached the river of Tezeng, or 'Alaï, which coming from the east, runs along

a broad valley, between two ranges of mountains. Turning to the W. S. W., it fertilizes the district of Beïsa on its left bank, whilst on its opposite shore is the large village of Meïdovid, celebrated for its rice.

The 'Alaï, or Tezeng, as well as the Allar or Abi-Talkh, are to all appearances, affluents of the Kurdistán river, and join it in the plain of Rám-Hormuz. I believe them to be the two first rivers crossed by Timur on leaving Rám-Hormuz, which are denominated by his biographer, Sheref-ed-din of Yezd, Rám-Hormuz and Feï (Meï), whilst the river Kurdistán, which comes from Behbehán, bears the name of Aberghun.*

The districts of Patek and Beïza, through which the Allar and Tezeng flow, are reckoned very productive, and consist of fields of wheat and barley. The distance from yesterday's descent into the plain as far as the village of Meï-dovid may be about four farsangs

* For more ample information, see my Essay on Timur's March.

(fourteen or fifteen miles), and the b . l. of the plain from one and a-half to two farsangs (three and three-quarters to seven and a-half miles).

At half-past seven, a.m., I waded through the clear waters of the Tezeng, a broad and noble stream, with a hard gravelly bottom. The depth of the river was nearly up to our horses, girths. A fortified Janeki village stands on its right bank, and another, surrounded by gardens, on its left.

We now ascended a steep hill by a devious path, and entered a hilly country, partly barren, and partly covered with brushwood and the wild almond-tree, bare of leaves, but in full blossom, and spreading around a delicious fragrance. The road first led to the north, then turned to the east, the general bearing being by compass north-east.

At nine, a.m., we came to an arched gateway, called Rahdar-Dervazehi-gech. It is an old building, with three round arches, in the Sasanian style: the road passes through the

central gate: at the sides are vaulted apartments, probably at one time the dwelling-places of the toll-collectors; for the interpretation of *Rahdar-Dervazeh* is a "toll-gate." The whole range of low hills, which extends from hence in a north-west direction towards the Asmari hills, receives its name from this gate, and is called Sahrá-dervazehi-geeh, the plain of the lime-gate.

The last word signifies *lime*, and refers probably to the calcareous nature of these hills.

It would appear from this, that the line of communication between Elymaïs and Central Persia was over these mountains; and this may have been the road along which the commerce carried on between Arabia and the East Indies, on one side with Persia, and Media on the other, found its way first up the river Jerahi, or Kurdistán, from its junction with the Kuren river, not far from the town of Muhammereh, and thence by the Tezeng, which is a tributary stream of the Jerahi.

From Rahdar-dervazehi-gech, the fort of Mungasht lies due east. Formerly this fort was in possession of Mirza Kúmo, of Behbehán; but it has been given up by him to Muhammed Taghi Khan Bakhtiyari. Behind the fort are the towering heights of Mungasht, partly covered with snow; and in the same direction, somewhat to the right, in the mountains, Chehar Rustám, and Kal'eh Múlla, the residence of Muhammed Ali-Khan, Chief of the Teyybi tribe of the Khogilú. Further eastward is Bárs and Dinarún. On the side of Mungasht, in a recess in the mountains, is the pretty valley of Manganan, through which flows the river of Tala, which, lower down, joins the Abi-Zerd, near Manjanik.

On reaching, at three-quarters past nine, a.m., a more open and elevated spot, my guide, a Bahmeï, whom I had picked up on the road, pointed out to me the ruins of the town of Tezeng (from which the river probably takes its name) bearing south-east. To this spot is attached a marvellous legend,

commemorating the virtue of some talisman against scorpions; and it is even now a place of pilgrimage to the shrine of Piri-Seyyid-Bezad.

I mention this circumstance, because Baron Hammer von Purgstall quotes a similar legend relating to the town of Tayyib.

"Elle possède," says this learned Orientalist, "un talisman contre les scorpions et les serpens." *

Another circumstance increases the probability that these towns are identical, and this is the existence of a Khogilú tribe, bearing the name of *Tayibi*, in the vicinity of Tezeng. If this be so, may not the ruins of Tezeng or Tayyib † represent the town of Tabœ, in which Antiochus is said to have expired after his unsuccessful expedition against the fire-temples of the Elymites? (See Polybius, frag. ix., tom. xxi.)

* See "Recueil de Voyages et Memoires," &c.

† There is another, *Teïb*, on the western frontier, near Wassit.

Ancient writers, who have alluded to this part of the country, are not sufficiently precise in their descriptions of places, and thus leave an open field for conjecture.

My Behmeï cicerone, who seemed versed in ancient lore, made me sensible that I was treading on the classic ground where Rústem, the Hercules of eastern romance, possessed his stables. As a proof of the assertion, I was shown the very manger out of which Rashk used to eat his provender. This consisted of some huge stones piled up and joined by cement. Further to demonstrate the immense size of the animal, my Behmeï friend pointed very seriously to a thick stump of an old oak, some fifty yards distant, to which, it appears, the hind legs of Rashk used to be fastened.* With such evidence before me, how could any doubts remain? I mention this as serving to throw light on the state of knowledge among these rude tribes.

* The hind legs of horses in Persia are generally chained to the ground.

This Behmeï, whom I have so unceremoniously introduced, was a Kasid, or foot messenger, sent on an errand from his fastnesses to the camp of the Bakhtiyari Chief. His only provision for the journey was a bag filled with the moist flour, or raw paste of the acorn, which he obligingly offered me to taste, and was surprised at my not relishing it. In the Bakhtiyari mountains it forms the principal food of the wandering tribes.

I think I have noticed elsewhere, that their women gather the acorns as they drop ripe from the trees, and bruise them between two stones, in order to extract the bitter juice: they then wash the flour, and dry it in the sun, and this is the whole process. They either bake cakes of it, or eat the paste raw, and find it excellent. How true is the expression of Goldsmith!—

> "Man wants but little here below,
> Nor wants that little long."

This rustic Behmeï, with his bag of acorn flour, was little aware that he was teaching

me a moral lesson,—never to murmur against Providence for whatever privations might be laid up in store for me in future, whilst it prompted me to breathe a prayer of grateful thanks to Heaven for the many blessings I enjoy.

After a tedious march of two and a-half hours over the high and uneven country of the Sahrá-dervazchi-gech, we began the steep descent into the plain, having Mungasht to the E.S.E., the road before us leading due north. At eleven, a.m., we crossed the river Tala, coming from the valley of Manganan on the S.S.E., and, in half an hour, reached the ruins of Manjanik, in Baghi-Malek.

The clear waters of Abi-Zerd (yellow-water) wash the high banks on which these ruins lie scattered in great confusion, and over a vast extent of ground. Close to the ford of the river is an isolated hill, crowned by an Imam-Zadeh, and running up to the top of the hill is a wall. There may have been a fortress here in the flourishing days of

Manjanik, as it commands the city, but with the exception of a few walls, some loose stones, and the old Imam-Zadeh before-mentioned, no other vestiges remain. Perhaps this was the hillock pointed out to Major Rawlinson as being an artificial mound, and taken by him for a monument of the Babylonian era. The ruins of the town are certainly very extensive, but do not appear to have any claim to a remoter age than that of the Sasanides. I shall not be positive, however, as I did not go over the whole ground. Very likely Manjanik was inhabited in the days of the Atabegs, and even at a later period, as some houses are in a tolerable state of preservation, and inhabited by the Iliyats of Baghi-Malek, of the Lur-Zengheneh tribe. These houses consist generally of one story, with a vaulted roof and round arched door ways, without windows, and have rarely more than one front-room and a small recess, such as one meets with in Persian karavanserais. The common materials are freestone, with a

profusion of white mortar and very rough masonry.

At a distance of one or one and a-half farsangs to the W.N.W., near the hills, some other ruins are visible. They go by the name of Argavan (crimson), but I could not ascertain any particulars about them. The river Abi-Zerd, forcing its way through stupendous rocks immediately to the east of Manjanik, runs in the direction of Argavan, where it unites with the *Tala* and two other streams coming from the north and north-east, and then loses itself among the Gech mountains. Copper coins are sometimes found here among the ruins, but notwithstanding my promises of remuneration if some were brought to me, I was not lucky enough to procure any.

Having satisfied my curiosity as far as time would allow, I resumed my journey, and crossing at one, p.m., the Abi-Zerd, at the base of the mount above described, I rode to a dilapidated building, two stories high, close to the left bank of the tributary to the Abi-Zerd.

I was pressed for time, and could not take a sketch of it, and do not perfectly recollect whether the windows and doorways had a round or a pointed arch, a feature which distinguishes the Sasanian from the Arabic architecture. Baghi-Malek is a beautiful and fertile district, and deserves the name it bears, of the King's Garden. It has groves of oaks, and, near to the ruined structure just mentioned, a village surrounded with orchards. The fields are well cultivated. The chief produce is tobacco, for the Persian kalyan. Here, too, are some plants of the piyasi-'unsul; but on crossing the tributary of Abi-Zerd, (at half-past one, p.m.,) the vegetation ceases, and dry stony soil prevails.

At two, p.m., we ascended a hill, and in half an hour came down on the plain of Kal'eh-Túl, otherwise called Kara-Túl, which place I reached at three, p.m. The fort stands on a hillock, and is surrounded at its base by hovels thatched with reeds. All was life and animation as I passed through the narrow

streets and moved slowly up the path to the fort. It was a motley scene, and highly interesting to me. The whole population had turned out to gaze at the strange Frengi, in a dress so different from their own. The greater part of the Bakhtiyari wear a felt coat, open before, reaching somewhat below the knee, furnished with short sleeves, and standing out at the hips. This coat resembles the *sudere* which the mobeds or the ancient Parsi priests used to put on when officiating. The cap of the Bakhtiyari is likewise of felt, close to the head and without any vizor to protect the eyes from the rays of the sun.

At Kal'eh-Túl I found an Englishman, Mr. Layard, who had adopted the Persian costume. I had made his acquaintance before at Hamadán, and had met him lately at Behbehán. I learned from him that Muhammed Taghi-Khan, the Chief of the Bakhtiyari, was encamped at Mál-Amír to receive the Governor of Isfahán, Luristán, and Árábistán, who was coming with an armed force to inspect the two latter pro-

vinces. We therefore agreed to set out on the following morning to the Bakhtiyari camp.

February 1st. The distance from Kal'eh-Túl to Mal-Amir is, by estimate, four farsangs (nineteen miles). The road is circuitous; a narrow and difficult pass through the mountains shortens the way by about a farsang. We moved about an hour and a-half in the direction of north-west, across a plain, having to the right a high chain of mountains, and to the left a succession of lower ridges. On the road we passed close to a burying-place, with a number of white tomb-stones: the figure of a lion rudely sculptured from the same material is placed on the tomb, and seems to be the favourite funeral ornament in this part of the country, as the black ram found in the old cemeteries near Tabriz, was in that of Aderbeijan. The introduction of the lion as a favourite symbol with the Persians, probably dates from the Arab conquest, more especially among the Shia, for their prophet Ali is represented as the lion of God; whereas among the

ancient disciples of Zoroaster, the lion stood at the head of the unclean animals, and was looked upon as the creation of Ahriman, the author of all evil, and the enemy of Ormuzd. It is rather strange, however, that the figure of the lion should so frequently recur on the ancient sculptures at Persepolis, and moreover, generally, as a triumphant aggressor.

The black ram of Tabriz may, perhaps be traced to the period when Aderbeiján was under the sway of the Turkoman race, known by the name of the Kara Kaïnlú, i.e., of the black ram.

We next entered a defile, or narrow valley in the hills, which brought us, after an hour's ride, to another plain, called Halegún, on which are ruins belonging, evidently, to two widely different eras. I very much question, however, whether the town of Eidej stood here as the extent of the more ancient ruins is not very considerable. Indeed, the only really ancient relic of any consequence is a square court, surrounded by a high wall of earth, and having

round the inner court a succession of vaulted cells, similar to what one meets with in old Persian karavanserais,* but on a larger scale. It may, perhaps, have been a similar structure to the cells which Ibn Batútá, in his "Travels through the dominions of the Atabegs of Luri-Buzurg," says he found at each station of the road.†

I likewise searched here for some traces of the celebrated bridge of Harahzád, or Jirzád, suppposed to have been erected by the mother of Ardashir, but without success.‡

The ruins of the second class are modern. They were inhabited by Hasan-Khan, former chief of the Bakhtiyari Chehar-lang, who resided here some twenty years ago, before he was treacherously put to death by his kinsman,

* As for example, at Deir (convent), in the desert, between Veramin and Kúm, on the ancient line of communication between Isfahán and the Caspian provinces.

† Travels of Ibn Batútá, chap. vii.

‡ It will be seen in the sequel, that on returning to this spot, I did find the buttress of a bridge on the left bank of the Halegun or Shah-Ruben river.

Muhammed Taghi-Khan, to whose camp I was now proceeding. Close to the ruined residence of the murdered chief is the village of Halegún, inhabited by the Janeki tribe.

We forded the river of Halegún, otherwise called Sháh-Ruben, an insignificant stream at this season of the year, and turning to the east, entered the great plain of Mal-Amir, after having passed by a considerable cemetery to the left of the road.

END OF VOL. I.

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3.

Inscriptions on a Black Stone Monolite at Tenghi Saulek.

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